

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

Published Quarterly by the Maryland Historical Society



SUMMER 1975
Vol. 70, No. 2

BOARD OF EDITORS

JOSEPH L. ARNOLD, *University of Maryland, Baltimore County*

JEAN BAKER, *Goucher College*

GARY BROWNE, *Wayne State University*

JOSEPH W. COX, *Towson State College*

CURTIS CARROLL DAVIS, *Baltimore*

RICHARD R. DUNCAN, *Georgetown University*

RONALD HOFFMAN, *University of Maryland, College Park*

H. H. WALKER LEWIS, *Baltimore*

EDWARD C. PAPENFUSE, *Hall of Records*

BENJAMIN QUARLES, *Morgan State College*

JOHN B. BOLES, *Editor, Towson State College*

NANCY G. BOLES, *Assistant Editor*

RICHARD J. COX, *Manuscripts*

MARY K. MEYER, *Genealogy*

MARY KATHLEEN THOMSEN, *Graphics*

FORMER EDITORS

WILLIAM HAND BROWNE, 1906-1909

LOUIS H. DIELMAN, 1910-1937

JAMES W. FOSTER, 1938-1949, 1950-1951

HARRY AMMON, 1950

FRED SHELLEY, 1951-1955

FRANCIS C. HABER, 1955-1958

RICHARD WALSH, 1958-1967

RICHARD R. DUNCAN, 1967-1974

P. WILLIAM FILBY, *Director*

ROMAINE S. SOMERVILLE, *Assistant Director*

The *Maryland Historical Magazine* is published quarterly by the Maryland Historical Society, 201 W. Monument Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21201. Contributions and correspondence relating to articles, book reviews, and any other editorial matters should be addressed to the Editor in care of the Society. All contributions should be submitted in duplicate, double-spaced, and consistent with the form outlined in *A Manual of Style* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969). The Maryland Historical Society disclaims responsibility for statements made by contributors.

Composed and printed at Waverly Press, Inc., Baltimore, Maryland 21202. Second-class postage paid at Baltimore, Maryland. © 1975, Maryland Historical Society.

USA SC 5881-1-278

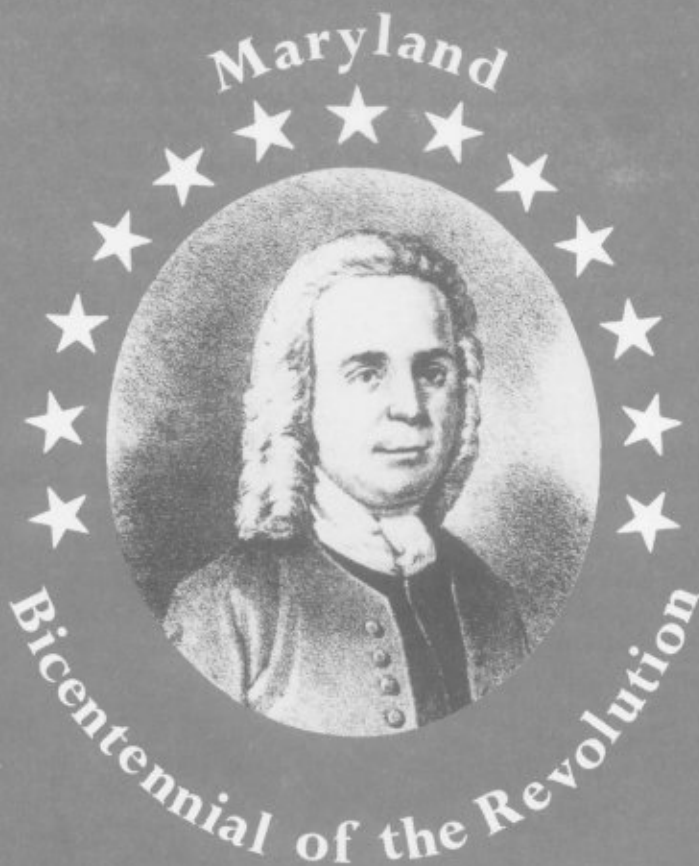
HALL OF RECORDS LIBRARY

10,778

Engl.

ANNAPOLIS, MARYLAND

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE



MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

Vol. 70
No. 2
Summer 1975

CONTENTS

<i>Elaine G. Breslaw</i>	The Chronicle as Satire: Dr. Hamilton's "History of the Tuesday Club"	129
<i>Katherine A. Harvey</i>	Building a Frontier Ironworks: Problems of Transport and Supply, 1837-1840	149
<i>David Winfred Gaddy</i>	William Norris and the Confederate Signal and Secret Service	167
<i>Charles M. Kimberly</i>	The Depression in Maryland: The Failure of Voluntarism	189

Sidelight

<i>Allan Kulikoff</i>	Black Society and the Economics of Slavery	203
-----------------------	--------------------------------------------------	-----

Notes on Maryland Historical Society

<i>Richard J. Cox</i>	A Bibliography of Articles and Books on Maryland History, 1974	211
<i>Mary K. Meyer</i>	Genealogica Marylandia: Maryland Muster Rolls, 1757-1758	224

Reviews of Recent Books

<i>Pomfret, Colonial New Jersey: A History</i> , by Jerome Nadelhaft • <i>Alden, Robert Dinwiddie: Servant of the Crown</i> , by Miles M. Merwin • <i>Calhoun, The Loyalists in Revolutionary America, 1760-1781</i> , by Ralph Ketcham • <i>Brodie, Thomas Jefferson: An Intimate History</i> , by Paul K. Conkin • <i>Boles, America: The Middle Period. Essays in Honor of Bernard Mayo</i> , by Thomas D. Clark • <i>Morris, Free Men All: The Personal Liberty Laws of the North, 1780-1861</i> , by Catherine M. Tarrant • <i>Hobson, Serpent in Eden: H. L. Mencken and the South</i> , by William J. Evitts • <i>Jaher, The Rich, the Well Born, and the Powerful: Elites and Upper Classes in History</i> , by Robert Forster	227
----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

Books Notes	238
--------------------------	-----

THE EDITOR'S PAGE

In the last issue we outlined the editorial policy of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, making clear that we hoped to publish good articles on every aspect of Maryland's history. Yet in addition to publishing articles, each issue of the *MHM* devotes considerable space to the reviewing of current books. That policy too should be made clear to our readers.

Obviously many more titles are published each year than we can possibly notice, so we must limit our reviews to books on Maryland history and culture, the Middle Atlantic region or the South, and significant books of national scope. Other books sent us which do not properly fit the above categories are given a short description in the Book Notes section of the *MHM*. We use great care in matching our reviewers to the books, trying in every instance to choose the very best person. If a possible reviewer is a close friend of the author (or an enemy), or helped with the research or writing, or teaches at the same school, or attended the same graduate school, or has obvious ideological differences, we do not ask him to review the book. Our reviewers are drawn from a variety of fields and professions, but all share one trait in common: their expertise gives them special insight into the quality of the book under review.

We see the reviewer as providing a highly useful service for the readers of the *MHM*. As a guide to whether certain books should be purchased or read, he is not intended to write uncritical advertising copy. We expect each reviewer to include a brief summary of the book, tell what kinds of evidence it is based upon, place it in its historiographical context, and indicate whether its assumptions, methodology, and conclusions seem warranted in his expert opinion. We want our reviewers to be honest and fair both to the author and the readers of the review. Pointing out petty errors should be avoided unless they are so extensive as to cloud the validity of the book itself. Book reviews, in short, are a kind of consumers' guide to historical publishing.

Our reviews will in part mirror the current vogues of scholarship, and when books of unusual merit or importance are published, we shall submit them to a longer consideration in the format of a review essay published in the Sidelight section of the *MHM*. Readers will remember the essay on Daniel Boorstin's *The Americans: The Democratic Experience* which appeared last year. This issue carries Allan Kulikoff's perceptive critique of *Time on the Cross*. Such review essays, we believe, extend to our readers the excitement and controversy of historical scholarship.

Most of our readers have neither the time nor opportunity to read archival materials or old newspapers and documents. Their access to history is through the pages of the *MHM* and published books. Our review policy then, bringing the best in recent historical scholarship to the informed attention of our readers, is to serve our audience. History is a constant dialogue between the past and present, and we hope to spark the conversation.

JOHN B. BOLES

The Chronicle as Satire: Dr. Hamilton's "History of the Tuesday Club"

ELAINE G. BRESLAW

ON A LOCKED SHELF IN THE RARE BOOK ROOM OF THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY Library in Evergreen House, resting in inglorious obscurity, is the incomplete three-volume manuscript of Dr. Alexander Hamilton's "History of the Ancient and Honorable Tuesday Club," written between 1754 and 1756.¹ A handful of scholars have looked at it; some, discouraged by the task of deciphering the already fading ink and handling the disintegrating pages, have given it only a cursory glance; others, more persistent, more curious, have read parts of it, contemplated its literary value, and judged it a fine piece of early American satire. Carl Bridenbaugh called it some of the "best writing produced in the Chesapeake society" and indeed he felt that it "stood high among all colonial literary efforts" in its genre.² Richard Beale Davis has been more effusive in his praise and somewhat mystified because it is so often overlooked.³ Recently J. A. Leo Lemay, who studied the manuscript very closely and is most familiar with all the doctor's writings, concluded that "in the future, Hamilton will rank as a

Dr. Elaine G. Breslaw is an associate professor of history at Morgan State College.

1. The "History" with the first and second volumes bound and an incomplete third volume unbound, together with some loose sheets from an earlier draft, were given to Dr. Upton Scot by Hamilton's widow, the former Rebecca Dulany. Scot thought that the loose sheets included a section from a fourth volume, but those pages appear to be a later section of volume three, pages 503 to 564, leaving a gap of almost 100 pages in the third volume. As far as I know, these intervening pages are missing. The manuscript subsequently was acquired by Judge George W. Dobbin who bequeathed it to Johns Hopkins University in 1892. The pages numbered 503 to 564 were separated from the rest of the manuscript and are now bound with the Maryland Historical Society copy of the Tuesday Club Record Book, MS 854. (Upton Scot to unidentified person, August 28, 1809, Howard Family Papers, Maryland Historical Society; Extract of a letter from Scot, August 28, 1809, bound into volume I of the "History," John Work Garrett Library of the Johns Hopkins University; and James Carroll to John Hoffman, May 4, 1824, *Ibid.*; Sarah Elizabeth Freeman, "The Tuesday Club Medal," *The Numismatist*, 58 [December 1945]: 1317.) Since the preparation of this article, Johns Hopkins University has laminated the pages of the manuscript to prevent further deterioration and has rebound the whole into six more easily usable volumes.

2. Carl Bridenbaugh, *Myths and Realities: Societies of the Colonial South* (New York, 1962), p. 43.

3. Richard Beale Davis, C. Hugh Holman, and Louis D. Rubin, eds., *Southern Writing, 1585-1920* (New York, 1970), p. 159.

major American writer of neoclassical prose." The "History" itself he termed a "brilliant" piece.⁴ Yet the work remains unpublished.

To begin to remedy this situation, a representative selection from Dr. Hamilton's satire follows this introduction. Only one other section of the manuscript has ever before appeared in print, that in the first issue of this *Magazine* in 1906.⁵

Dr. Hamilton's satire is ostensibly a takeoff on the activities of the Tuesday Club of Annapolis, a club which itself was devoted to humor and wit for learned, talented, and sophisticated Marylanders between the years 1744 and 1756.⁶ It reproduces many of the speeches, poems, puns, and musical works written and composed by various members of the Club, but is edited to fit the satirist's purposes. Hamilton intended his "History" to reflect on the human condition and not just the small group of Annapolitans mentioned in it. It is a wry commentary on man, his (and her) foibles and illusions, his hypocrisies. Using language well stocked with obnoxious detail, replete with references to bodily functions, Hamilton consciously imitated the Grub Street wits in England. His mock-heroic style was also borrowed from the English satirists: Pope, Swift, Arbuthnot, Gay, and Middleton.⁷ In addition to its literary and philosophical qualities, the "History" also affected an irreverent view of local Maryland politics and manners. The undertones of political and social criticism may well be more suggestive to the historian of the eighteenth century than its recognized literary merit.

The manuscript also contains comical line drawings by Hamilton that emphasize the satirical nature of the work. The sketches are in the spirit of Hogarth, grotesques in visual form designed to complement the social comment of the prose.

In arrangement the "History" comes closest to Henry Fielding's *History of Tom Jones, Foundling*.⁸ Every volume is divided into several books, each of which develops a theme, preceded by a long essay introducing the theme. The

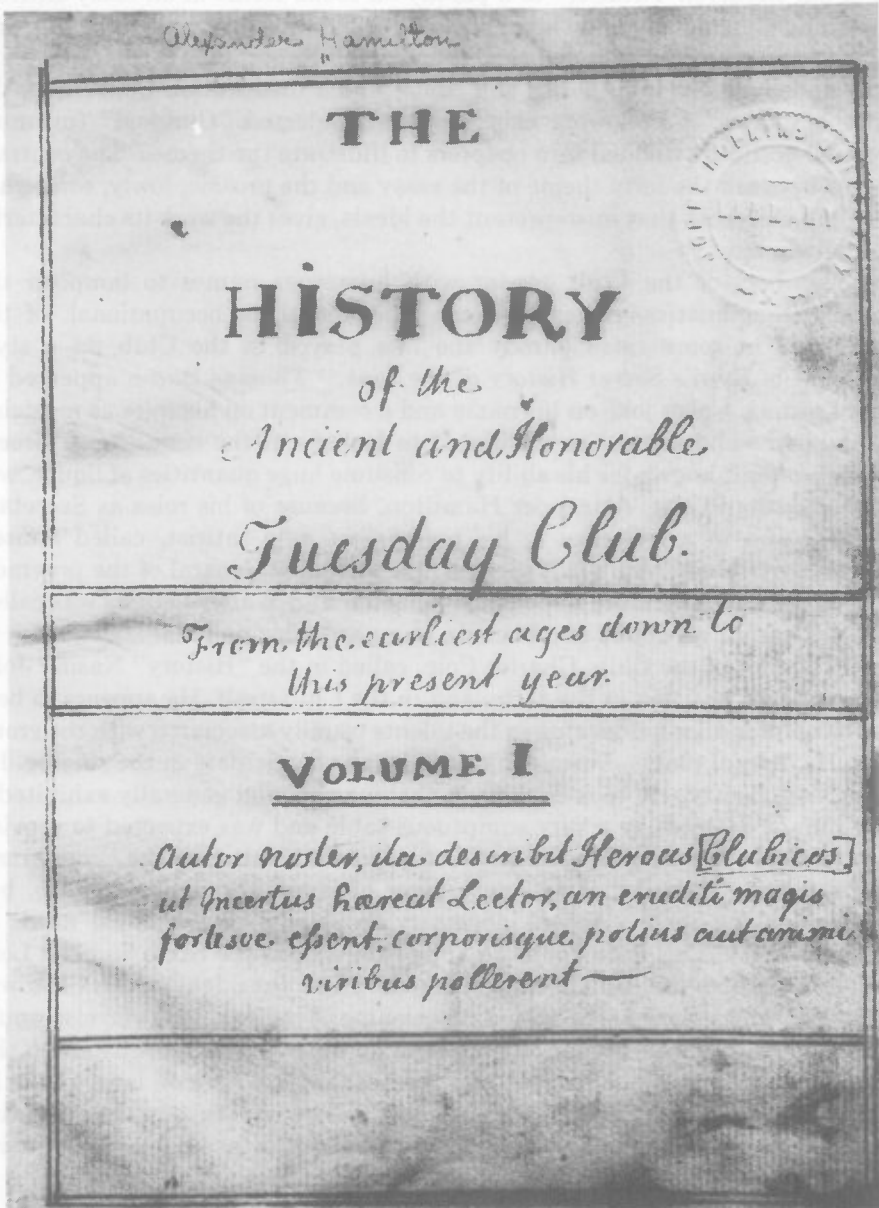
4. J. A. Leo Lemay, *Men of Letters in Colonial Maryland* (Knoxville, 1972), p. 213; Lemay, "Appendix," in Louis D. Rubin, ed., *A Bibliographical Guide to the Study of Southern Literature* (Baton Rouge, 1969), p. 344. The only published work by Hamilton is his travel diary. It was most recently edited by Carl Bridenbaugh as *Gentleman's Progress: The Itinerarium of Dr. Alexander Hamilton* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1948).

5. "The Tuesday Club of Annapolis," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 1 (March 1906): 59-65.

6. Joseph Towne Wheeler, "Reading and Other Recreations of Marylanders, 1700-1776," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 38 (March 1943): 53; Elaine G. Breslaw, "Wit, Whimsy and Politics: The Uses of Satire by the Tuesday Club of Annapolis, 1744 to 1756," *William and Mary Quarterly* 3d ser., 32 (April 1975): 295-306. The actual minutes of the club's activities were kept by Dr. Hamilton in a Record Book that reached 2 volumes. One copy of volume one covering the minutes from 1744 to 1755 is in the John Work Garrett Library and a second, revised version of the same volume is in the Maryland Historical Society MS 854. The single known copy of the second volume covering the minutes of May 27, 1755, to February 11, 1756, is in the Library of Congress MS Division. References to these Records are from the Garrett Library copy. The Record Book volumes form a separate, more factual, source of information on the club and should not be confused with the more imaginative "History."

7. Hamilton, "History," 2:3, 35; Pat Rogers, *Grub Street: Studies in a Subculture* (London, 1972), p. 3.

8. Lemay, *Men of Letters*, pp. 250-51.



Title page of volume 1. Photograph by Jerome Breslaw, courtesy The John Work Garrett Library of Johns Hopkins University

topics ranged from "A Modest Proposal, for the New Modelling and Improvement of our Modern Theatre," to a parody on social forms in an essay entitled "Concerning Ceremonies and their great use and Significancy, in Civil life, and in Clubs," and a burlesque on political events, the "Importance & Significancy of ensigns and Symbols of authority and State, and a dissertation Concerning the balance of power."⁹ Following each essay are selected "Clubical" (meaning humorous) activities divided into chapters to illustrate the themes. The contrast in values between the lofty theme of the essay and the prosaic, lowly, somewhat crude Club activities that misrepresent the ideals, gives the work its characteristically satiric tone.¹⁰

The members of the Club appear with humorous names to lampoon the personal characteristics, either physical, intellectual, or occupational, of the members, or in some cases parody the role played in the Club, in a style reminiscent of Byrd's *Secret History of the Line*.¹¹ Thomas Bacon appeared as Signior Lardini, a poor joke on his name and a comment on his roles as musician and composer—characteristics attributed to Italians at the time. Jonas Green, the Poet Laureat, known for his ability to consume huge quantities of liquor, was dubbed Jonathan Grog. Alexander Hamilton, because of his roles as Secretary and orator and in a reference to his pretensions as a satirist, called himself Loquacious Scribbler. William Thornton, the Attorney General of the province, was Solo Neverout, a tribute to political tenacity, and Walter Dulany was called Slyboots Pleasant no doubt also because of a particular political style.

The President of the Club, Charles Cole, called in the "History" Nasifer Jole, holds a peculiar position in the satire and in the Club itself. He appears to be a somewhat dull individual lacking in the talents usually associated with the group of wits. He did not play a musical instrument, nor participate in the singing. He did not write poetry. He took no part in the punning and generally exhibited a lack of humor. He did lay a very sumptuous table and was expected to provide elaborate meals. His very limited intellectual role is a satire on the Proprietary, which is thereby described as a lavish giver of favors through patronage, but singularly lacking in any means necessary to satisfy the practical needs of Maryland society. This is no doubt an apt description of the Sixth and last Lord Baltimore: the dissolute diletante, Frederick.¹² The President of the Club was assumed to be necessary to the proper functioning of the society—who else would provide favors—but like Frederick, he made no other positive contribution. He did have the power of appointment and the authority to pass on laws, rights he wielded arbitrarily. As a result the patronage and benevolence of the executive was judiciously wooed in the Club as he was in the province—thus the effusive odes to the President delivered by the Poet Laureat.

9. Hamilton, "History," 2:181–202; 3:167–84; 2:338–49.

10. On the nature of satire and its eighteenth-century literary expressions I have relied on the analyses of W. O. S. Sutherland, *The Art of the Satirist: Essays on the Satire of Augustan England* (Austin, 1965) and David Worcester, *The Art of Satire* (Cambridge, Mass., 1940).

11. William K. Byrd, ed., *William Byrd's Histories of the Dividing Line Betwixt Virginia and North Carolina*, with a new Introduction by Percy G. Adams (New York, 1967).

12. William Hande Brown et al., ed., *Archives of Maryland*, (Baltimore, 1883–), 50: viii. Henceforth *Archives of Md.*

The Club members had coined terms to give distinction to their activities and Hamilton used the "Clubical" jargon in his satire. Of especial importance was the word "gelastic"—from the Greek word for laughter. A major rule of the Club called the Gelastic Rule banned all direct references to politics or sensitive issues in the colony.¹³ Only indirect, humorous, and therefore gelastic commentary was permitted. Anyone violating the rule was subject to derisive laughter from the company. The word thus implied a sophisticated level of irreverent humor and also an invitation to enjoy the low comedy of the Club's frivolity.

The following excerpt taken from the third volume, pages 349 to 369, begins with a relatively short, untitled, introductory piece on mankind's treachery and lack of sincerity. Its general theme is typical of others in the "History," but it also succinctly recapitulates a multitude of topics explored in more lengthy detail in earlier essays. In it Hamilton comments on the weaknesses and trickery of those in power, the misuse of religion to support the status quo, the short-sightedness of scientists, the degeneration of society, and the consequent need to use laughter as an antidote to such human foolishness. Throughout this section as in much of the "History," there is a pointed reference to the insincerity of politicians swayed by the turns of fortune and the weakness of aristocrats subject to flattery.

The meeting used as an illustration of those follies took place on June 11, 1754, at the celebration of the ninth anniversary of the Club. In attendance that evening were Charles Cole, William Thornton, Jonas Green, Walter Dulany, William Lux, Reverend Alexander Malcolm, and Dr. Alexander Hamilton, the regular or "Longstanding" members, and Daniel Dulany, Jr., and Dr. Upton Scot, strangers visiting the Club for the evening only.¹⁴

The group had not met since March 26th of that year, the longest hiatus in its existence. Because of the imminent danger of French and Indian attacks on the Maryland borders and a governmental crisis at the same time, the energies of most leaders were directed toward the military effort or gaining support for their political position.¹⁵ Club members were too involved in serious business to take the time to attend to their satires and practice their wits. The local situation, however, provided the framework for Hamilton's comedy.

The Maryland satirist intended this section in his "History" as an ironic commentary on the divisive governmental crises of 1754. At the time the Proprietor's prerogative to control license fees was under direct attack by the Assembly, which itself was under pressure to finance the early days of the French and Indian War. The Lower House of the Assembly would not budge from its position to refuse to appropriate money unless the Proprietor would give up his prerogative rights to fees and fines. The result was stalemate and the governor several times prorogued the Assembly during the winter of 1753-54.¹⁶ Thus the Club itself was seen to suffer from a "long Interrugnum" brought on by the selfishness of the members. Hamilton mocked the virtual paralysis of govern-

13. Tuesday Club Records, June 18, 1745.

14. *Ibid.*, June 11, 1754. Scot was elected a regular member shortly afterwards.

15. *Archives of Md.*, 50: vii.

16. *Ibid.*, 50: xi, xix, xxii, 206, 210-11, 256, 261.

ment in Maryland by comparing the Club's degradation to that of the decline of ancient Rome. He used a high burlesque technique of exploiting the grand theme for a trifling occurrence. The noble became the ignoble and the laughter invoked as a result of the ludicrous comparison was a wry recognition of the dissension in the General Assembly.

Hamilton makes one very oblique reference to the anti-Catholic scare that gripped the colony during the early years of the war. In listing all the reasons for the impending downfall of the Club, he includes the holding of "sham Clubs or illegal Committees" and suggests that the enactment of "severe penal laws" against such committees was necessary to protect the Club. The Maryland Assembly at the time was considering such stringencies to restrict the province's Catholic population. In addition, the more narrow-minded Anglican clergy held an unauthorized meeting to discuss ways to further harass the "Papists."¹⁷ It is both that meeting and the irrational fear of the local Roman Catholics that Hamilton lampoons. The doctor like many other enlightened Protestants in the colony was in favor of religious toleration even though he strongly disapproved of Roman Catholic dogma, stigmatizing it in this selection as "dam'd Impudent lies."

Many allusions of the "History" are typically eighteenth century and reflect a sensitivity to Enlightenment ideals. Hamilton quotes puns and out-of-context statements from Latin authorities to lend weight to his arguments. This is intended as a parody on the reliance on authority so long enjoyed by scholars and theologians. Hamilton lampoons ceremonies which have lost their original purpose and have become their own reason for being. The false front of ceremony was as unenlightened as the reliance on Latin authorities.

In a familiar echoing of the eighteen-century English whig fear of luxury and decadence,¹⁸ the doctor lauds the earlier, more primitive, frugal era of the Club's development, before the advent of sit-down dinners and self-indulgence. As a physician he could not resist adding the fillip about the elaborate meals of the century, not just because of the overeating that was destructive of their constitutions, but the waste of time in idle dinner conversation. Such social occasions, which were the hallmark of southern society, added nothing to the health and happiness of mankind and diverted minds from more important concerns.

The doctor's political leanings were conventionally whig: his philosophy was an amalgam of the ideas of John Locke and Montesquieu. He felt that the best protection for a free people against a tyrant was in maintaining a balance not just of the three estates praised by the Frenchman, but also of the Lockean balance between executive prerogative and legislative privilege. Hamilton's scathing ridicule of the corruption of that ideal is evident in the trivial commentary that

17. *Ibid.*, 50:199-202; Thomas Bacon, "Proceedings of the Parochial Clergy," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 3(December 1908): 364-84.

18. Bernard Bailyn, *Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), p. 49; Gladys Bryson, *Man and Society: The Scottish Inquiry of the Eighteenth Century* (Princeton, 1945), p. 79; H. Trevor Colbourn, *The Lamp of Experience: Whig History and the Intellectual Origins of the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill, 1965), p. 50.

the President of the Club had the prerogative to hear the speech as the members of the Club had the privilege to utter the anniversary speech.

Typical of the other satirists of the century, Hamilton was fascinated by the theater as is demonstrated by his extensive use of dramatic allusions and dialogue. In much of the "History" he adds stage direction and asides in brackets, most of which are absent from the factual records. These theatrical techniques serve to remove the dramatic personages in the "History" further from the actual people in the Club and make the characters more representative of generalized human folly. The Maryland satirist could conceive of no more effective vehicle to point up the incongruities of the human condition than through the stage.

In the use of dialogue, Hamilton preserved the pronunciation of the time and thus gives an added dimension to an understanding of the eighteenth-century American world. It is noticeable that the vulgar pronunciation of give me still sounds as it did then: "gi'me."

A note on punctuation and capitalization. The original punctuation has been changed to make the selection more readable. Dr. Hamilton did not bother with periods, and did not begin new sentences with capital letters. Some of the commas have been removed where they interfered with an understanding of the text. Eighteenth-century spelling has been retained except in the case of "fs" which has been modernized to the double "ss." I have tried to maintain consistency in the spelling and therefore obvious errors of transmission from the records have been corrected. The footnotes in the original are indicated by the use of letters which was Dr. Hamilton's practice; editorial footnotes are numbered.

CHAPTER IV

Celebration of the Ninth Anniversary, Anniversary Speech and ode.

Democritus the Philosopher has been much wondered at, and much blamed for his Laughing humor by persons of a particular solemn and grave turn and, for this Reason, has had the character of a Coxcomb and Impertinent Buffoon.¹⁹ But if one Seriously Considers the humors of this Transitory world in which we live, he will wonder how any person can be so stupid as to forbear laughing at almost every occurrence that happens around us. Would it not provoke one to laughter to observe on what the Generality of men place their esteem; to see how the Philosopher, as well as the fool, is mistaken in opinion, in reckoning the wealthiest always the best; to observe a Set of domineering Insolent puppies, endeavoring to sink a noble and generous spirit by accumulating misery upon it, while all their dirty labor is Laughd at the dispised by the Heroical, resolute and Brave; to see politicians and projectors, noted for their wisdom and Sagacity, like the Spoke in Sesostris' Chariot wheel²⁰ turned up and down from begging to

19. Democritus, ca. 460, was nicknamed "the laughing philosopher" after his death although during his lifetime he was known as "Wisdom" for his encyclopedic knowledge. *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Oxford, 1949), q.v.

20. Sesostris was a mythical Egyptian king mentioned by Herodotus who ascribed to him great conquests in Africa and Asia (*Ibid.*).

honor, and from honor to begging again; to see the Incommensurable flow of idle Compliments, that are current among people of fashion and grimace, which, like Sham bills of Credit pass Current for friendship; to see Machiavels maxims held in greater Repute than the Scriptures, and the Gospel of truth, and trick and Chicanery pass for wisdom, while honor and Integrity and candor, are esteemed words of no signification, but Invested to gull simple fellows and fools; to see Justice bought and sold in our Courts of Law and equity, as if money Carried a more Convincing argument with it than truth; to see a Rich fool see a knave of a Physician and pay a blockhead of an apothecary to deprive him of health, under a pretence of Restoring it. Its as if God made work for fools to mend: to see a silly housewife pay a Tinker for stopping one hole in her pot or kettle, and making two in it's stead; to see how double tongued flattery, with the slipperiness of a Snake, creeps into favor and Esteem with the great, till it Empoisons and Corrodes their Substance; to see Papists, and other wrong headed bigots Invent and publish dam'd Impudent lies, to support their villanous religion, That they may not only cozen the present age, but Impose upon Simple and Credulous posterity; to See well meaning and honest Simplicity laugh'd at, and made a tool of to serve wicked purposes; to see Religion, that venerable name made a vizor for villanous politicians, assumed or thrown aside, as occasion requires; to See Rogues of low degree exalted on a gallows or gibbet, and greater rogues of high degree elevated to places of honor and profit, the badge of the first, the more honest of the two, not from nature but necessity, being a hempen halter,²¹ and the symbol of the other, a diadem, a Golden Chain, or a Star and Garter; to See human wit and Cunning, eagerly employed in finding out the arcana of nature, with deep and curious Scrutiny, and at last discovering neither more nor less, than that a straw is a straw, and an atom an atom. I say who can see or observe this medley of absurdity without Laughing, Immoderately, either with Democritus, or any other Gelastic Philosopher; and who can blame the members of the ancient and honorable Tuesday Club, for Laughing at all the world, as well as at themselves, and furnishing a fund of Laughter to all those who have a turn for the Gelastic humor, since their main delight and pleasure is only to Laugh and be laughed at, and, in fine, who can blame them for Laughing Immoderately, at the Clubical altercations between the honorable the President and venerable The Chancellor.²²

At Sederunt 222²³ was Celebrated the Ninth Anniversary of the Ancient and Honorable Tuesday Club When Mr. Secretary Scribble, by the Grace, favor and Condescention of his honor the President Served as H[igh] S[teward].²⁴ The members, at this anniversary, were all, except the President who had his Chair of State, seated in Windsor Chairs, ornamented with their Badge of medals. What the Intention or meaning of this was cannot be conjectured, unless it was only a mere piece of State or Grandure, which this Club was apt to assume to them-

21. A noose.

22. Reverend Alexander Malcolm was the Club Chancellor. His pseudonym was Philo Dogmaticus.

23. Each meeting of the group was called a Sederunt, from the Latin to sit. The Sederunts are numbered consecutively in the factual records and carried over to the "History."

24. The high steward was the host for the evening. The members rotated in that position.



Self-portrait of Dr. Alexander Hamilton. Photograph by Jerome Breslaw, courtesy The John Work Garrett Library of Johns Hopkins University

selves at Certain times without giving or even having any particular reason for it, but mere whim.

After Supper, the Secretary as orator of the Club, stood up in his place, and delivered an anniversary speech as follows:

ANNIVERSARY SPEECH, delivered by the Orator

May it Please your honor,

and these here L[ong] S[tanding] Members of this here anct. & hon'ble Club.——

The practise of Delivering Anniversary speeches, has been received and prevailed much in other Clubs, as well as in this here Club. Permit me to quote a few authorities. The famous Cardan Says, *verba propter res, et res propter verba*; and Philo Says, *qui Rebus Se exercet, verba negligit, et qui callet, artem dicendi, nullam disciplinam habet recognitam*, and the wise Seneca, *Cujuscunque orationem vides, politam et Solicitam Certo Animam in pusillis occupatum in Scriptis nihil Solidum*.²⁵ Many eminent orators have shone in this particular province of eloquence among whom I, as a Club orator (tho' modesty forbids me to assume the first rank among these Ingenious gentlemen) have from time to time (as your honor, and these here Longstanding members must know and Confess) made no Contemptible figure in the exercise of my office.

Anniversary orations are certainly not only decent and becoming, but absolutely necessary in all Clubs, who have any regular Constitution or policy, especially in those where that excellent form of mixed government exists, called the thrice estates, I mean, where the Society is governed by a President, Supreme head or Archon, State officers, Nobles or Magnates and officers of the Commons, or Tribuni Plebis. The two cardinal points or hinges upon which such a government moves are Prerogative and privilege of the members under his sway. These two points necessarily exist in a free government and therefore exist in this here Club, the Government of which is yet, I hope, under proper restrictions, and the members, in some measure, free. Therefore, as it is a part of the prerogative of an honorable President to hear an anniversary Speech every year, so it is the undoubted privilege of any one, or all of the members of a free Club, to pronounce, or utter such an anniversary Speech, or Speeches to the honorable the Chair. This valuable privilege, our ancient & honorable Club have thought fit by custom to lay Intirely upon my Shoulders, making me, as it were, the mouth of the society to deliver their sentiments on these Grand and solemn occasions to your honorable Chair, and if my memory does not deceive me, this is the ninth time that I have officiated as an anniversary orator to your honor & these here Longstanding members, and held forth laboriously and pathetically, amidst a group of laughers, listners, Grumblers and Sleepers, for, certain it is that upon the return of every occasion of this sort, some have laughed either at your Orator's person, action or discourse, or altogether, some have listened attentively

25. Cardan: "Words because of deeds, and deeds because of words." Philo: "Whoever involves himself in deeds neglects rhetoric, and whoever is versed in [or is insensible toward] the art of speaking has no recognized knowledge." Seneca: "Whoever's oration you see to be both polished and restless, certainly [you see] his spirit is engrossed in trifles and there is nothing solid in his writings. Translations from the Latin by Carl Carlson, Curator of Coins, Evergreen Foundation.

with ears wide, and mouths wider open, some again have Grumbled and muttered between their teeth at what was said, and exclaimed Impatiently, that there was too much of this stuff, when your orator had scarce gone thro' his Exordium, while some, Insensible of either mirth or anger, have sunk into soft Repose and balmy sleep, lulled by the mere sound of the orators voice. Such members, I could, if I would, now point out to your honor, but I prudently shun being particular, for fear of giving offence.

Since then, The absolute necessity of anniversary speeches in free Clubs is evident, I hope (pardon me if I say it, for you know it to be true) tho' our Club has for some time passed drooped, yet this laudable Custom must not be dropped, and therefore, I must beg your honor's patience, and the patience of these here Longstanding members, to Indulge my oratorical Loquacity for a few minutes while I deliver what may be proper to be delivered, on such a Sublime occasion, as this here present anniversary.

Our Anniversary, honorable Sir, which has hitherto been an occasion of Rejoicing and mirth, a day of singing, fiddling, dancing, Jestng, drinking, eating and laughing, a day of pomp, show and magnificence, grandure and triumph, which has hitherto given great solace and Joy to the Longstanding members, is now (I am sorry to say it, and particularly on this occasion when such complaints may seem Improperly urged) likely to become a humdrum, dull, moaping day of dejection, a spiritless, tasteless and tedious pastime to the Longstanding members, who cannot but perceive a great decline and falling away, of the wonted Glory and magnificence of this here Club; evident and apparent by the late long adjournments it has undergone, the very last Club preceeding this present Anniversary, having been held on the 26th of March last, and not one Single Sederunt Intervening. O Lamentable! That for the space of almost three months, the honor, Glory and dignity of this our Ancient and honorable Club, should be buried and Enveloped, in darkness and oblivion, whilst no body can tell for what.

Did I say, honorable Sir, no body can tell for what? I grant it, perhaps more out of Complaisance to your honor and this here ancient and honorable Club than for any truth the assertion contains in itself, because I would shun giving offence, especially to great men and State officers, but surely a man must be very short sighted, if he cannot at least conjecture for what. Permit me then to trespass a little on your time and patience, while I offer my conjectures.

May I not then be allowed to conjecture, for I dare not proceed to positive assertions, that Luxury has in a great measure got footing in this here ancient and honorable Club. Luxury, in the opinion of all wise men has been the bane and ruin of States and Nations, and therefore must at last be the ruin of Clubs where it has been admitted. Are there not longstanding members here present who have seen the primitive times of this here ancient and honorable Club? Did they not in a little time^(a) see an end to that virtuous and heroic frugality, that prevailed in it at its first Institution? Have they not seen Luxury peeping from behind the scene, and preparing for her pompous entry upon this Clubical Stage? Have they

(a). Vide vol. 1, Book 3, beginning of Chap. 5, page 179 verbatim almost with this.


not Seen this bold actress take one great Stride at her first advance, and proceed afterwards, with a grand pas, to expell Simplicity and plainness from the Club, and Introduce pomp, show and Extravagance, her Constant pages and attendants, while another, her Companion and Coacter, with the like buskined pride, played the part of a momus or mimic? This was no less a person than Ceremony, as much a beau as the other is a belle, whom you have seen also showing his pragmatial front, on the most conspicuous part of the Scene, and Introducing Certain fantastical punctillios, forms and modes, by which he has so disguised and Intoxicated the behavior and manners of the l[ong] St[anding] members of this here anct. & hon'ble Club (as indeed he does those of all mankind especially such as are in high life), for he never shows his face among beggars and clowns that they now seem not to be the same persons that they were at their first Institution.

Happy,^(b) thrice happy, in those heroic times of Innocence & Simplicity, were the Longstanding members of this here anc. & hon'ble Club, for then, without molestation could they sit with their legs across, loll upon a table or elbow chair, smoke their pipes, kiss the bowl or the glass in their turns, converse upon Clubical matters, either grave or facetious, drink toasts, either loyal or amorous, crack jokes, frame puns or Conundrums, and should their stomachs call for a whet, without Ceremony or trouble to themselves or fellow members, they might rise up, go to the Side board & after having taken their Sliver of Gammon or Slice of Cheese, Standing, Return again to their Computation, Jocosity or Clubical Conversation. How Charming, how regular, and how like the Simple frugality of the Golden age was this and how different from the present luxury and profuseness that prevails in most clubs, when the whole apparatus of a formal Table is Introduced, the Club room is pestered with the passing and repassing of Servants, the hobnails of whose shoes, make a miserable Clamping on the planks, and, when this is over, it proves only a prologue to the confusion and needless ceremony that succeeds, for, as soon as the H. S. gives the signal that supper waits, there is hawking of chairs, crossing over, casting off, figuring in, galloping up, right and left and back to back like people at a Country dance. There is—Pray Gentlemen, take your places, as the H. St'd's prologue—there is grace to be said, of which, not one word can be heard for Talking and laughing, then follows sharp rebuke from the Chaplain, and grumblings from the offending members. Next it is—pray take a seat—pray sit here sir—heres enough of room—excuse me Sir—I never eat Supper Sir,—I seldom Sup a nights Sir—for my part, I never Sup Sir. Then Comes the Table Conversation—here boy—some bread—pray Shove that dish this way—who carves best—what do you chuse Sir—pray Gi'me leave to help you—Shall I help you to this—Shall I help you to that—Sir you most humble—any part good Sir, 'tis all the same to me. Pray Sir, help yourself, and please yourself—hold good Sir—here's enough—Shall I help you to some sauce—yes Sir, you know I'm pretty saucy—will you have some gravy—no Sir, I'm grave enough already—please to hand me that mustard—pugh, 'tis damn'd strong, it makes me cry without a cause as Hob did for

(b). Vide Vol. I, lib. III, chap. 3, page 148, almost verbatim the same with this paragraph.

Tuesday Club

41

thus  the Elegance and Beauty of this hieroglyphical Rebus I can never sufficiently admire, and think it far exceeds that of Abel Brugger, who upon his sign, to express his name, painted a great capital A the figure of a bell a Capital D, the picture of a rug, and to express ex, (which I take to be the most ingenious part of the Rebus there stood the figure of a dog barking. This ingenious artist, to compleat his design, is obliged to introduce, two Capital letters, which I take to be two Capital errors in his piece.

I come now to the Anagram, which is only a proper name transformed, by shifting the letters of it from their natural places to others, by which transposition and permutation is framed a word or a sentence, which expresses some remarkable quality accident or action of a person, whose name is so anagrammatized, for example, I will take a man's name and a woman's such as Jasper or wall, and Mary Carrier, they might stand Anagrammatized in, supposing the first person to be a rogue and the latter a whore.

Jasper Goswall.

Mary Carrier

anagram.

anagram.

At Gallows I preys

I marry Care.

These anagrams are of the satirical kind, but some are of the panegyrical, such as authors may compose for their patrons, and lovers for their mistresses, I shall give two examples of this sort, the first expressing a Complaint on a patron, the latter expressing a lover's pining for his mistress.

Robert Boonight

Elmira Damaskoy

anagram.
Light noble root.anagram.
Oh! I am really mad!

This is enough to show the nature of this kind of ingenuity.

Tuesday Club

429

shield, with the proper devices and mottoes of the Club,



curiously delineated thereupon, of which the figure in miniature is here in the margin annexed; this too was a contrivance of that plodding officer, the secretary, and designed by him to promote mischief in the Club, for we shall soon find, this very device, trifling as it was, raised contentions, and hot

disputes which were not easily quell'd.

His Holiness, after having taken his seat as usual, at the right hand of the Chair, and deposited a naked sword upon the Club table in terrorem, casting a frowny eye upon this new Canopy, with a frown in his countenance, addressed the president, and spoke as follows,

Mr President,
I cannot help taking notice of some innovations here which I presume, have been contrived and introduced, without advice or consent of the Club, pray Sir, may I presume to ask, by whose authority, advice and sapience, this sumptuous and noble canopy, has been affixed to the Chair for future

his grandmother—please to shove the vinegar cruet this way—a clean plate there—Coming Sir! this is fine veal, that's delicious mutton, these apples are well baked—Pho! I have burnt my mouth with that damned apple pye 'tis damnation hot—These cheese cakes are not done—of all things commend me to pudding—do you love cold pudding Sir—not I sir, my love is settled—a knife and fork there—pan sir!—yes Sir!—pray sir eat 'tother Custard—boy, some small beer—a glass of wine you—this minute Sir—Sir my humble services—Sir your health—yours Sir—and yours Sir—and yours Sir—your most obedient humble servant—pledge you Sir—fill me a glass of claret there ho—avast, you Son of a bitch none of your Bumpers, damn you—Pray Sir give me a slice of that tongue—I thought you had got tongue enough already—well, come away, let's have at this turkey and these oysters—my starts and garter, what a twist of the under Jaw you have got—I play a good knife and fork, thanks be praised—The Lord make us thankful—here take away—and so they get up, one by one and fall to picking their teeth sauntering about the Room, or standing with their bums to the fire. I would ask what pleasure there can be in all this, except that of eating & drinking, which as it is a pleasure we enjoy in Common with the brute, and, often employ to more wicked purposes, the destruction of health and Constitution, we ought to glory but little in as the Pious Mr. Dods, the Reverend Mr. Dolittle, and several other Learned divines tell us. As for the table Conversation on these occasions, have I not Just now given a Specimen of it? Is it anything but mere Balderdash, so confused and so noisy, that I defy the wisest head in Christendom to make any thing of it? And, after all Impediments are removed & the Club forms itself round the Great table to smoke and drink, how dull, how sleepy are the members, when their stomachs are overcharged, how flat, how low the Conversation, what yawning, what stretching of limbs, what nodding, what Sleeping, what Snoring, or rather driving of hogs. Oh! Oh! 'tis Lamentable to behold, how much better to have spent the time in witty conversation such as punning, framing quaint Conundrums, cracking of sly Jokes, telling comical stories, singing old Catches or composing quaint Rhimes. But alas! all this is only preaching to the wind, and beating the air in vain, for, one may preach to eternity, and never reform the manners of Clubs, nay more, the manners of mankind in general, till the example of Great men and presidents show them the way.

I might take occasion to observe here, since I have mentioned great men and Presidents, how people in Eminent Stations^(c) will sometimes, by artful methods gain upon the affections of the vulgar, when they observe a mild, easy, and condescending deportment and behavior towards them, and, when they heap benefits and favors upon them unasked. May not this have been the case with a Certain great man, and the L. S. members of this here anct. & hon. Club. Have we not seen one with a Complaisant and mild Countenance always adorned with a smile, like Julius Caesar of old, (pardon honorable Sir, the uncouth Comparison between a Christian president, and a heathen Emperor) flatter the people, that by gaining the ascendant over their affections, he might with more ease seize the

(c). Vide, vol. 1, lib. III, chap. 8, page 201, almost verbatim the same with this.

Tyranny into his own hands, and govern their persons, as he thought fit? No bounty was spared in the way of entertaining. Rack, that expensive liquor, has been Introduced. Rack! so bewitching to our refined palats, because fare fetched large tables have been set out, covered with clean fine linnen, nicely pinched, and sweetly perfumed, with lavender and roses, elegant dishes of meat, and exquisite deserts, have been Curiously ranged thereon, the Rooms and passage Splendidly Illuminated with Sconce lights, in the forms of Rhombus's squares, triangles and Circles, vocal music has been warbled forth most mellifluously, an Iced Cake made its appearance, which was dealt about in Luncheons to the members, curiously Enveloped in Clean white paper. This Cake, this fatal cake, may we not conjecture compleated the catastrophe of the Liberty of this here ancient and honorable Club, and, as Esau sold his birthright to Jacob, for fair words and a mess of porridge, so, this unhappy Club has bartered their liberty to a certain great man, for an old Song, rack punch, Plumb pudding, four pounds of candles, and an Iced Cake.

But, tho' I condemn the Conduct of this here Club in this here particular affair, yet, that I may do strict Justice to that there great and Illustrious personage, I am sincerely of opinion that this here Club, could not have pitched upon a milder and more Complacent governor than he, for, has he not at all times shown himself modereat, gentle and easy to be Intreated, and, excepting only in that point, of giving up the least article or particle of his valuable prerogative, a point of which all princes and Great men, are very tender and Jealous, a point, of which, he is Justly tenaceous, he has spared no pains to humor this here Club in every thing that they desired. But, what tho' this here Club be in a great measure happy and easy, under the administration and government of this here accomplished and polite Archon, yet, it cannot with any certainty be expected that it will always remain so under that of his Successors, who, not regarding his excellent example, may turn out to be Cruel & blood minded tyrants.

And now, honorable Sir, and gentlemen, I think having discussed this point of Luxury, I have dispatched the burden of the Song. But permit me, before I conclude this long speech to make a few more conjectures concerning the causes of the decline of this here Club.

May we not reasonably conjecture that Certain bickering and contentions of late, sprang up among us in a great measure contributed to eclipse the Glory of this here Club, so that to use nigh the words of a late celebrated poet, it has been with us, as with the Oliverian Saints.

*Here civil dudgeon has grown high
and We fell out, we knew not why
While hard words, Jealousies & fears
Set us together by the ears.*

And now have we been set by the ears, may we not reasonably conjecture, by the ambition and pride of our Great men, striving for power and Influence. Lamentable was the day in which so many state officers were appointed in this here Club, woeful was the accursed time when a great Seal and bag were thrown in among us as a bone of contention, dreadful was the period, when titles of honor and badges of State were bestowed upon some restless and aspiring spirits who

knew how to abuse them, but not well how to use them. Let us run a parallel between this here ancient club & the Roman Republic & see how their Circumstances & fate agree.

In the beginning of the Roman Republic, there subsisted a Jealousy or Contention between the Patricians or nobles and the Plebians or Common people. Has not a Jealousy and contention also existed from the very beginning in this here Club, between the State officers and the Commons? Were not the Tribunes of the people established at Rome for the Security of the Commons who used to controul the votes of the Senate with a veto? Were there not officers of the Commons also appointed in this here Club, who have often had the assurance to controul the votes of the State officers? Were there not two Triumvirates established at Rome? Are there not also two triumvirates established in this here Club? One Extraneous, on the eastren shore,²⁶ the other within its very bowels, under the Color of a Champion,^(d) a Chancellor, and an Attorney General? Was there not a perpetual dictatorship established at Rome by Julius Caesar? Has not this here Club saddled themselves with a perpetual Dictator, under the title of a perpetual president? Did not the Chief magistrate of Rome assume to himself the title of Imperator? Was not the title of my Lord given to the president of this here Club? Did not the Emperor sit between Two Consuls in the Senate at Rome? Does not the president of this here Club, Sit, in Club between his two satellites or Satrapae, the Champion & Chancellor? Did not the army assume a governing power for a Considerable time at Rome? Has not Sir John, for a considerable time assumed by virtue of his broad sword a governing power in this here Club? Was not Rome for some time governed by the Councils of loose women and Courtezans? Has not there also been a genearchy in this here Club? Did not the Romans go to an excess of luxury in buildings, feasts, public shows, and Spectacles? Has not this here ancient & honorable Club, gone to an excess of Luxury in feastings, badges, canopies, and processions? Did not Rome at last sink by degrees from a State of liberty into a State of abject slavery? Have we not reason to believe that as the political State of Rome, and that of this here Club seem to be parallel, that if we drive on, Jehu like, in this manner, this here club, will at last, sink into a state of Slavery. Has not moderen Rome at last, submitted to be ruled by an old priest and his myrmidons? May we not conjecture, that this ancient and honorable Club, once it becomes a *Moderen Club*, will be priest ridden, if the presumption and petulance of a certain great Club officer, the Chancellor be suffered to go on. [Chancellor: Aha! is it come to that!]²⁷

26. Thomas Bacon, Robert Morris, and John Gordon established a group called the Eastern Shore Triumvirate in Talbot County. They served as the nucleus for a gentlemen's society in that rural area. Earlier in the satire Hamilton accused Bacon and his friends on the eastern shore of forming a cabal to undermine the authority of the Club President. The doctor used that "clubical" incident to lampoon the Country Party, the anti-Proprietary or opposition group, in the colony ("History," 2:87; 219).

(d). Sir John had not as yet declared that he had left the Club.

27. The brackets are in the original. The accusation is a derogatory reference to a speech made by another clergyman, Thomas Cradock, an advocate of a resident bishop in the colonies. David Curtis Skaggs, "Thomas Cradock's Sermon on the Governance of Maryland's Established Church," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 27 (October 1970): 630-53. On the episcopal issue in the colonies, the most comprehensive work is Arthur L. Cross, *The Anglican Episcopate and the American Colonies* (New York, 1902).

In fine, honorable Sir, and Gentlemen, I have presumed to lay all those matters before you, that you may have a clear view of the present deplorable State of this here ancient and honorable Club, and the ruin that threatens it, if proper means are not used to prevent it. Therefore, you will Remain without excuse if you do not use these means, which are to reinstate the Club in its ancient simple constitution with regard to expences, to secure to his honor the president his Just prerogative, to curb and restrain the growing power of your State officers, to keep within proper bounds the Influence of the Great Seal, to regulate the presumptive claims of the officers of the Commons, to provide that Commissions be duely and regularly Sealed and Issued, not only for deputy presidents, but for officers of State, to revise and correct the body of Laws, to hold Committees for wholesome advice, and to put down that pestilent Custom of long adjournments lately crept in among us by enacting severe penal laws against those who presume to hold sham Clubs or Illegal Committees. If these expedients are not Speedily taken, this here Club will soon be at an End and this, probably, may be the last anniversary we shall see. Whereas, if proper care be taken, before it is too late, we may yet see many a Joyful Return of this day of Rejoicing, may often with pleasure behold our noble president exalted in his chair, smiling upon his club, which calls to my mind the following poetical passage.

The brazen roof, Inlaid with Sparkling gold,
With Carved Iv'ry & with amber pure,
With shining silver, such the seat of Jove,
Such the Star Chamber, where th' Immortals meet.

Then may we often hear the poet Laureat repeating his elegant odes, the Chief musician warbling his dulcisonorous notes, Signior Lardini drawing Charming sounds from Cat guts with nimble fingers & skillful bow, and your poor orator perorating his anniversary Speeches while nothing but peace, harmony, mirth and Jollity prevails among us, which, ought to be the wish of every longstanding member of this here Club, as much as it is of

Your humble Servant
The Orator

The orator having finished this oration, neither the president nor the Club seemed pleased with it not withstanding the fine flourish at the close, which shows how little men care to be told of their faults. The orator was in none of the best of humors at the delivering of this oration, and was resolved, since he found he could not advance himself by flattery, and dissimulation, which he had tried for a great while, to speak the naked Truth for the future.

The Poet Laureat was then called upon to recite the ode, which at this time had not been set to music, and, he rising up his head adorned with a chaplet of Lemmon leaves, instead of bays, recited in his place, with a Clear voice as follows:

ANNIVERSARY ODE

For the ancient and honorable Tuesday Club, in the year 1754, Humbly

Inscribed to the Honorable Nasifer Jole Esqr., President, and the Longstanding
members of the Said Club by Their most humble Servant

The Club's Poet Laureat

Air

Mighty Jole, we sing again
Raise, O Raise the Joyful Strain
Laughing muse, Resume the Lay,
To Jole, and to the Joyful Day.

Chorus

Sackbuts, Cymbals, Timbrels, lutes
Bangeos, dulcimers and flutes
Bagpipe drones with snuffling bellows,
Viols, violins, violoncellos
Pipes and Tabors, kettle drums,
Trumpets shrill and deep hum strums,
Harpsicord and Hauboy Sharp,
Irish, Welsh and Jewish harp,
Grave hybernian Clarshoo
Cor de Chace, Guitarre also
Join in general concert, Join,
with your voice & his and mine,
Till the arched Skies rebound,
with the exhilarating sound.

Air

Tis Jole, tis Jole demands our annual praise
For Jole I sing, for Jole I wear these bays,
Long live and prosper Jole the Great,
May he, the favorite of fate,
Still on his Club benignly Shine
and rule with wise Judicious head
From that exalted place,
May his most gracious face
On our Longstanding member shed,
its Influence divine.

Grand Chorus

Ye members all Salute the Bowl
Drink health long life and peace to Jole.
To Jole, who other presidents exceed,
In bold exploits & in the ruling art,
As much as sturdy oaks do dwarfling weeds,
Or awful thunder does a rousing fart.
And when you've put the Goblet round,
Sound again the music, sound

wide, dilate each warbling throat
 While Eccho shall repeat each note,
 and thro' the wide expanded skie
 The praise of mighty Jole shall flie
 and all th' aerial powers,
 that crowd ambrosial bowers,
 The Zylphs, the Gnomes & Zephyrs sweet
 Their music Join great Jole to greet,
 and, charm'd with our Terrestrial lay,
 Descend to hail great Jole & this propitious day.

The poet Laureat having recited this ode with applause was ordered to return thanks to the orator for his anniversary oration, which he did in the following words:

Mr. Orator, Sir,

By the order of his honor the President & the Club—

President: By my order Sir! No I'd have you and the Club to know I gave no order to return thanks for any such stuff [this the President said see sawing and Rolling his handkerchief on his knee].²⁸

Poet: I beg your honors pardon.—well—Mr. Orator Sir,—by the order of the Club, I return you thanks for the Elegant anniversary speech you have delivered upon this occasion.

Then the orator being ordered to return thanks to the poet laureat for his anniversary ode, did it in the following words:

Mr. Poet Laureat, Sir,

The orders of his honor the Pres.—hoh!—I mean Sir, the orders of the Club, which I shall always be ready to obey and which I greatly Respect and honor, are, that I should give you thanks, for them and in their name, for your elegant anniversary ode Just now recited. Sir, I wish that my abilities were equivalent to your sublime genius, that I might be qualified to return you such thanks as would be adequate to your extraordinary merit, but since I cannot thank you in such strains as I would, I must beg of you to accept of my thanks for the club in such a plain stile as my genius can reach.

Thus did the Two Clubical Geniuses compliment, or (as some call it) Scratch one another, and, the Club seemed to be of opinion, that this short extempore speech of the orators, was much better than his long studied anniversary oration.

28. The brackets are in the original.

Building a Frontier Ironworks: Problems of Transport and Supply, 1837-1840

KATHERINE A. HARVEY

DURING THE SECOND QUARTER OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, FOLLOWING THE discovery of vast deposits of coal and promising veins of iron ore in the Appalachians, speculators began to buy tracts of mineral lands in western Pennsylvania, western Maryland, and what is now eastern West Virginia. Much of this land came into the hands of newly-created corporations with capital sufficient to promote mining and manufacturing operations far in advance of existing family ironworks or farmers' coal diggings.

The inaccessibility of the raw materials led most entrepreneurs to wait for the advent of railroads or canals before beginning to develop their properties. However, in a few instances, confident that adequate transportation would soon be available, corporate boards of directors voted to begin operations at once. Since much of Appalachia was almost as isolated in the 1830s as it had been in the immediate post-Revolutionary period, the engineers of pioneering companies had to contend with adverse conditions of transport and supply.

This article proposes to set out in some detail the major logistical problems and the solutions of one frontier enterprise, the George's Creek Coal and Iron Company, incorporated by the Maryland legislature in 1836.¹ On its 11,000 acres southwest of Cumberland the company planned to build four blast furnaces with steam-powered blowing apparatus and hot blast, together with molding houses, a foundry, a steam hammer, puddling furnaces, and a rolling mill.² The fuel for the furnaces would be coke or raw coal rather than charcoal.³

In 1837 the company began building its No. 1 furnace.⁴ The site chosen for the ironworks (now the town of Lonaconing) lay on George's Creek halfway down a narrow valley running between Frostburg, on the National Road, and Westernport, on the Potomac River. The region was almost unbroken forest with possibly

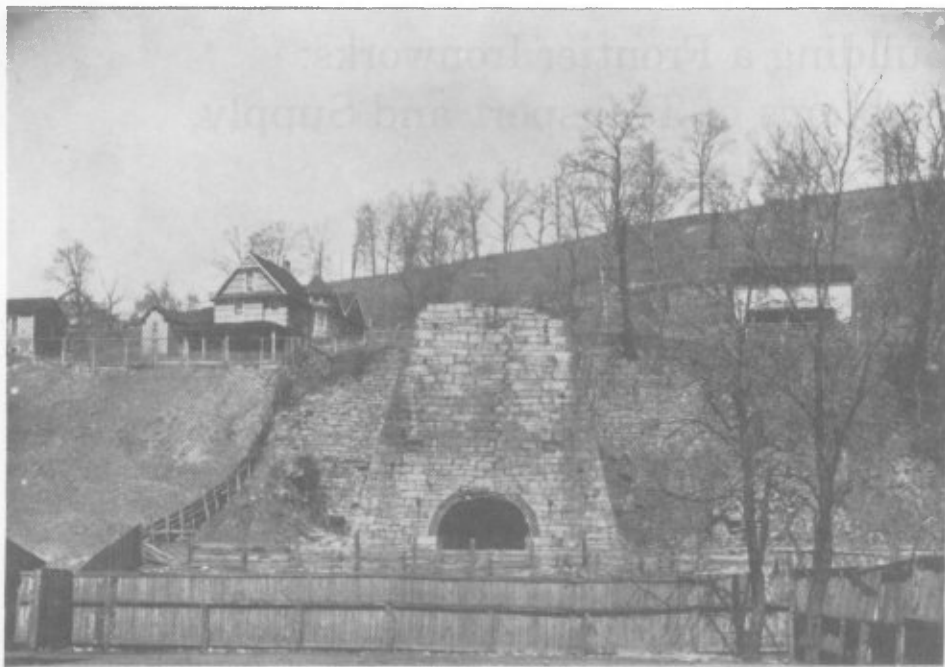
Ms. Katherine A. Harvey lives in Silver Spring, Maryland.

1. Md. Laws, Dec. Sess. 1835, Ch. 328.

2. Allegany County, Md., land records, liber T, folios 298 and 327; George's Creek Coal and Iron Company, *George's Creek Coal and Iron Co.* (n.p., 1836), pp. 27-30. Hereafter referred to as GCC&I Co. Report, 1836.

3. John H. Alexander, *Report on the Manufacture of Iron* (Annapolis, 1840), p. ix.

4. The particulars of its construction and of all the other activities involved in the establishment of a company town are related in a day-to-day journal kept by the various superintendents of the project. This privately-owned manuscript is presently being edited by the writer. It will be cited here as Journal.



Remains of the Lonaconing furnace, c. 1911. *Maryland Geological Survey*.

a dozen houses scattered along the county road, a rough trail hardly wide enough for a wagon. After heavy snows or during spring floods this road was impassible; the creek could not be forded at high water.⁵ It was an area whose inhabitants had learned to “make do” or do without, accepting their remoteness from the outside world as a fact of life. Baltimore, the nearest big city, was 150 miles away. Western Maryland’s only link with the eastern seaboard was the National Road, a busy thoroughfare crowded with stagecoaches and freight wagons traveling between Baltimore and Wheeling. Neither the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad nor the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, progressing snail-like since 1828, had as yet reached Cumberland, gateway to the West but nevertheless a small courthouse town of limited population and resources.

The distance from manufacturing centers and labor supplies made it imperative that the company use to the fullest possible extent materials from its own lands,⁶ and that it induce neighboring farmers to contract for the hauling of these materials to the building sites. There was plenty of sandstone for the furnace stack, limestone for mortar, and clay for bricks, but the stone had to be quarried, the lime burned, and the clay molded and baked. Heavy stands of white pine, oak, maple, walnut, hickory, locust, ash, and poplar could furnish lumber for

5. J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Western Maryland*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1882), 2: 1499; and James W. Thomas and T. J. C. Williams, *History of Allegany County*, 2 vols. (n.p., 1923), 1: 536.

6. GCC&I Co. Report, 1836, p. 22, points out the company’s self-sufficiency in raw material “for almost any manufacture.” Furthermore, the furnace could be built with sandstone “carried not one hundred yards” from its bed on tram roads constructed from the timber cleared from the quarry site.

industrial buildings, tram roads, and workmen's houses,⁷ but first the trees had to be felled and the logs dragged to the mill for sawing.

The typical American blast furnace of the 1830s, burning charcoal, was seldom more than thirty feet high with a base thirty feet square. Planned for the use of coke or coal, the furnace at Lonaconing, following English and Welsh examples, was to be fifty feet high, fifty feet square at the base, and twenty-five feet square at the top.⁸ The outside of an antebellum furnace gives no hint of the massive interior construction. Supporting walls thick enough to withstand the heat and vibration of the blast surrounded the relatively small hollow interior in which the smelting process took place. At Lonaconing, for example, the interior had a diameter of five and one-half feet at the top of the stack (where the outer walls were twenty-five feet across), and fourteen and one-half feet at the boshes, the widest part (where the outer walls were almost fifty feet wide.)

Each face of this furnace was broken by a brick arch sixteen feet wide. The archways, which penetrated deep into the walls, tapered to a width of six feet at their inner ends. In the spaces not occupied by the archways, masonry piers supported the upper part of the stack. The piers, made of large cut stones laid with mortar, were solidly built to take the weight of the walls. Cast-iron beams crossing the archways provided additional support.

Above the arches and the iron beams, the furnace stack continued in the form of thick outer walls gradually tapering to the desired width at the top. At intervals metal binders reinforced the walls and helped to counteract the expansion and contraction of the building materials with the heat of the blast. The binders, which were wrought iron rods or bars, went all the way through the outer walls from side to side of the stack. Large cast-iron washers slipped over the rods covered the binder channels and the adjacent stonework. The rods protruding through the washers were bent into loops, and iron wedges thrust through the loops kept the binders in position. In some cases the ends of the binders were threaded so that large iron nuts could be screwed on. Both methods of fastening the binders were used at Lonaconing. The iron beams, binders, and holdfasts had to come from already established ironworks; all other materials for the stack were produced on the spot.

Into the hearth and the supporting walls went blocks of stone weighing as much as 7,200 pounds apiece and measuring $6 \times 4 \times 2$ feet. To bring stones to the furnace foundation from two quarries on the hill above it, the company built tram roads with oak rails cut 4×6 inches and laid on sleepers. The first of these roads, with a slope of 1:3, was ready when work on the furnace began, but the vehicles to be used on it had not been perfected. The size of the stones determined whether they should be moved down the rails on rollers or carried on sleds (stone boats) or in wheeled cars. The first sled built by the carpenters and blacksmiths proved to be too heavy and too slow. One of lighter construction worked satisfactorily for a few hours before it broke away and was wrecked. In its

7. *Ibid.*, p. 21.

8. Alexander, *Report on the Manufacture of Iron*, p. 92; and Frederick Overman, *The Manufacture of Iron in all its Various Branches* (Philadelphia, 1850), p. 175. For a detailed description of the construction of a blast furnace, see *ibid.*, pp. 153-64.

first hour of operation the third sled delivered five loads of twenty-one cubic feet each, and apparently continued successfully thereafter.⁹

The wheeled cars were just as much of a problem. The first, top-heavy and too fast, went back to the shops to be made lower and to be fitted with a brake. In spite of the alterations, it broke loose and was damaged. Refitted, it broke again and was again repaired and put on the railroad, where it managed to deliver in an hour and a half six loads of twenty-seven cubic feet (one cubic yard) each at a cost of \$.1875 per cubic yard. A windlass installed soon afterward provided assistance for the crew of six men needed for the railroad.¹⁰

The second quarry railroad was finished in October 1837, by which time a gang had begun the excavation for a self-acting inclined plane, 567 feet long, intended primarily to supply the furnace with coal, but to be used also for sending down building stone from the quarry near the coal mine.¹¹

Delayed by occasional shortages of laborers, carts, and sawed lumber for rails, the plane was not finished until the end of March 1838 when trial loads of coal and stone were let down. The cars ran on two parallel sets of tracks and were attached to a chain wound around a drum (eight feet long and with a diameter of six feet) located on the platform where the cars were loaded.¹² As a full car went down on one set of rails, its weight pulled up an empty car on the other. The chain, of half-inch iron with links $1\frac{3}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ inches on the inside, was bought in Baltimore from Captain W. Graham, who had imported it from England. The cost was \$272.26.¹³ The bodies for the tram cars were made by the company carpenters and blacksmiths, and the wheels, axles, boxes, and bearings were cast by Ross Winans, a Baltimore founder and designer of cars and locomotives for the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad.¹⁴

From time to time cars ran off the track, either because of defects in their construction or because of the carelessness of the men, but on the whole the inclined plane worked well, supplying stones for the masons as fast as they could use them.¹⁵

Before completion of the second quarry railroad and the inclined plane, some of the large stones were rolled all the way down the hill to the furnace foundation. Many more were hauled by sleds along rough cart roads. How primitive these roads were is indicated by the time it took to build them—a matter of two or three days. Steep and slippery, they required frequent repair or even relocation after heavy rains or snowstorms. Local farmers furnished sleds, wagons, horses, oxen, and drivers for transporting stone and other building materials to the

9. Journal, June 22, Aug. 21, 24, 25, 1837.

10. *Ibid.*, Aug. 21, 22, 24, 28, 29, 31, and Sept. 2, 1837.

11. *Ibid.*, Sept. 21, Oct. 12, 1837; and George's Creek Coal and Iron Company, untitled report of directors, 1839 (n.p., n.n., 1839), p. 6. Hereafter referred to as GCC&I Co. Report, 1839.

12. Journal, Sept. 27, Oct. 19, Nov. 3, 1837; and Feb. 16, Mar. 26, 31, 1838.

13. *Ibid.*, Nov. 9, 10, 1837. See also W. Alexander to J. H. Alexander, Nov. 16, 1837, Alexander Papers, Md. Hist. Soc.; and daybook entry Nov. 27, 1837, Welch and Alexander Record Books, Md. Hist. Soc.

14. Journal, Mar. 28, 1838, and Jan. 2, 1839. See also Winans order book, Jan. 1839, and Winans journal entry Jan. 30, 1839, indicating that each set of four wheels, complete with axles, etc., cost about \$19 (Winans Papers, Md. Hist. Soc.).

15. Journal, Apr. 4, 5, 6, 13, 18, 21, 1838.

furnace and other parts of the works. By contracting for such services the company was able to get along with a minimum of draft animals. As late as the end of 1838 it owned only ten horses and had only a single wagon to send to town for goods.¹⁶ Similarly, by depending on contractors who would hire the men needed for constructing the various parts of the furnace complex, as well as the dwelling houses, store, church, sawmill, and other units which made up the village, the company was able to limit its own payroll to a few carpenters, blacksmiths, laborers, and eventually furnace hands and miners.

The stone which company employees quarried and delivered to the furnace site passed into the hands of a contractor responsible for the masonry and brickwork of the stack. He brought his own masons and stonecutters from Pennsylvania, and as the work progressed, looked for others locally.¹⁷

All of the stone had to be dressed to some extent. Facing stones, corner stones, and arch stones required more attention than the rough trimming given to material for the supporting piers. Hearthstones required the greatest care of all. Trapezoidal in shape, they had to be cut with a great deal of precision so that they would fit into the several circular courses forming the inverted cone of the furnace interior below the boshes. To assure their fitting, the superintendent determined the dimensions of the stones and gave the carpenter directions for making a template to guide the stonecutters.¹⁸

For lifting blocks into place on the stack, the company carpenter rigged a wooden crane which worked for a few days before breaking while lifting a load of "less than 2 tons." Although considerably reinforced with wood, iron rings, and screw bolts, it broke again with a stone weighing 3,840 pounds.¹⁹ After further bracing by the carpenter and the blacksmith, the crane gave no more trouble for several months. The carpenter also installed windlasses as they were needed. However, even with the help of these rudimentary hoisting devices, it took ten men to place the huge bottom stone of the hearth. The superintendent did not risk using the crane to put the cast-iron supporting beams across the arches. Instead, a team of horses dragged the beams up the hill behind the furnace to a point from which the men could roll them onto the stack and maneuver them into position.²⁰ Each of the four beams weighed more than 3,400 pounds.²¹

All of the mortar used for the furnace and other masonry was made with limestone quarried and burned on the premises. Here, as in many other operations, the most efficient way of burning the lime was determined by experimentation. From notes in the journal entry of November 11, 1837, we know

16. *Ibid.*, Aug. 23, 24, 26, 28, Sept. 1, 6, 13, Oct. 18, Nov. 3, 4, 13, 28, 30, Dec. 8, 1837; and Dec. 21, 1838.

17. *Ibid.*, Oct. 27, Nov. 1, 6, 1837; and Jan. 9, Mar. 19, Apr. 5, 7, 10, 1838.

18. *Ibid.*, Sept. 11, 1837. The parallel sides were almost thirty-eight inches wide at the back and a little over thirteen inches wide at the front. The slanting sides were thirty-two and a half inches long, and the stones were roughly two feet thick.

19. *Ibid.*, Aug. 23, 24, 25, 30, Sept. 1, 4, 1837.

20. *Ibid.*, Aug. 26, 29, Sept. 5, 6, 7, 11, 12, 28, 29, Nov. 24, 1837. On July 31, 1838, the crane broke while delivering stone for the hearth.

21. *Ibid.*, June 26, 1837. The Journal does not indicate where the beams were manufactured. An inquiry was made concerning the cost of carrying them from Winchester, Virginia, to Lonaconing (W. Alexander to Isaac Paul, Aug. 1, 1837, Letter Book 1, Welch and Alexander Record Books).

that the first three limekilns at Lonaconing followed the design of Cyprien-Prosper Brard, a French mineralogist, as described in the *Dictionnaire de l'Industrie* by Henry-François Gaultier de Claubry.²² Alternate layers of coal and limestone built up to the desired height were enclosed in an outer shell of sandstone blocks or bricks laid about a hand's breadth apart without the use of any mortar. The illustration of Brard's kiln shows five layers of coal and four of limestone. The bottom layer was of coal with fagots and larger wood piled on top for kindling. The top layer was of fine coal covered with ashes, cinders, or earth to prevent loss of heat. The kiln was lighted at the bottom and allowed to burn until the stone had crumbled to powder—about thirty hours. Eighteen hours of cooling were necessary before the lime could be drawn out.

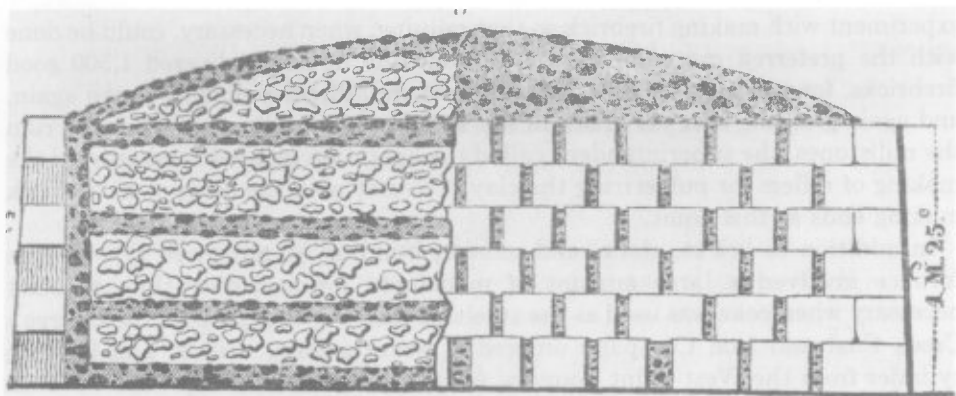
Because these first three kilns turned out poorly, the masons at the furnace ran out of mortar, and the superintendent thereupon ordered the building of a clamp for burning limestone.²³ A clamp, unlike a kiln, did not have containing walls, the lime burner heaping his materials in a rough mound in the open. A sketch in the journal entry for August 25, 1837, shows that the bottom coal in the clamp was arranged in four rows approximately six feet long, eighteen inches wide, six inches high, and a foot apart. The largest chunks of limestone applied carefully over the coal bridged the gaps between the rows and allowed the circulation of air from below. Additional alternate layers of coal and limestone completed construction of a pyramid about four and one-half feet high. This particular clamp contained approximately eighty-one cubic feet of raw materials. Fires kindled in the spaces at the bottom of the pyramid ignited the coal, and the clamp burned until the limestone was reduced to a fine powder. The journal notes the construction of twenty-eight limekilns and clamps between August 1837 and April 1839.

The blast furnace arches, two hot air furnaces, the furnace for the steam boilers, as well as the various chimney stacks involved, called for an enormous number of bricks, which could be obtained most economically by manufacturing them on site. Consequently, in late August 1837 a brickmaker summoned from Baltimore arrived with a gang of journeymen and began molding bricks from clay dug and tempered by the company's laborers. Working under a shed and on tables made by the company's carpenters (who also made the brick molds), the contractor and his hands filled and fired their first kiln of bricks on September 21. Fuel for the kiln was provided by the company's woodchoppers. At least four kilns, one containing 14,000 bricks, were burned before cold weather set in. Although the terms of this first contract are not known, the contractor probably received \$4.25 per thousand, the amount he was paid in 1839.²⁴ His offer to stay and make bricks through the winter and spring of 1837-38 at the rate of \$4.50 per thousand was refused as too high. After the brickmakers were sent home on

22. *Dictionnaire de l'Industrie, Manufactière, Commerciale et Agricole*, 10 vols. (Paris, 1836-1841), 5: 442-56. For another contemporary description of limekilns see J. T. Ducatel, "Treatise on Lime-burning," in *Annual Report of the Geologist of Maryland 1838* (n.p., n.d.), pp. 25-33. See also Charles Tomlinson, ed., *Cyclopedia of Useful Arts & Manufactures*, 2 vols. (London and New York, 1854), 2: 294-95; and Eli Bowen, *Off-hand Sketches* (Philadelphia, 1854), p. 46.

23. Journal, Aug. 21, 22, 25, 1837. See also Nov. 11, 1837.

24. *Ibid.*, Aug. 23, 25, 31, Sept. 9, 14, 18, 21, Oct. 14, 1837; July 22, 1839.



Type of limekiln first used at Lonaconing. From *Dictionnaire de l'Industrie*.

November 6, the company bought, or rather borrowed, bricks from a neighboring farmer, promising to replace them the following summer when they were needed.²⁵

In May 1838 the company advertised in the *Baltimore American* and in several Pennsylvania newspapers for a brickmaker who would contract to make a half million or a million bricks, going down to Lonaconing with two working crews and guaranteeing to deliver forty or fifty thousand bricks ready for use within a month of the contract date.²⁶ The contractor who had made bricks in 1837 returned in June 1838, presumably to work as before with considerable help from company employees. However, after finishing his first kiln, he was given a *new* contract at \$4.50 per thousand, but he was required to dig and temper his own clay, provide his own firewood (except that already cut), and deliver the bricks wherever needed. The journal contains no detail on the 1838 brick production, merely noting the date on which the contractor finished his last kiln and left with his men. The same contractor returned in 1839. Between the end of January and the end of July he produced 440,000 bricks, so it seems likely that his output for three seasons was in excess of one million.²⁷

Ordinarily the brickmaker would also have made the firebricks (an estimated 10,000) needed for lining the furnace, and soon after he arrived in Lonaconing in the fall of 1837, the company had laborers pounding fireclay to be ground on a neighbor's gristmill. Preparation of the clay proved extraordinarily difficult. By November 2 only 230 bushels had been ground by the miller, who kept protesting that the material was too heavy for his stones and raised too much dust. Because of the impossibility of getting enough firebricks burned in time, the furnace was lined with sandstone.²⁸

After the furnace went into blast in May 1839, the brickmaker began to

25. *Ibid.*, Nov. 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 1837. The company got at least 2,345 bricks from this source.

26. *Ibid.*, May 18, 1838; and *Baltimore American*, May 24, 1838.

27. *Journal*, July 27, Oct. 20, 1838; Jan. 26, July 22, 1839.

28. *Ibid.*, Sept. 17, 20, 21, 23, Oct. 4, Nov. 2, 3, 1837; GCC&I Co. Report, 1839, p. 7; and W. Young to Samuel Swartwout, Aug. 14, 1838, in Benjamin Silliman, *Extracts from a Report Made to the New York and Maryland Coal & Iron Company* (London, 1838), p. 44.

experiment with making firebrick so that relining, when necessary, could be done with the preferred material. By the end of July he had delivered 1,500 good firebricks, for which he charged \$20 per thousand. Fireclay digging began again, and again grinding it at the gristmill was attempted. Finally, not wishing to ruin the millstones, the superintendent called the operation to a halt and ordered the making of rollers for pulverizing the clay.²⁹ Regrettably the account of firebrick making ends at this point.

In addition to bricks, stone, and mortar, building an advanced type of iron furnace involved a large amount of machinery for providing the hot blast necessary when coke was used as the smelting fuel. For this purpose the George's Creek Coal and Iron Company ordered a steam engine, boilers, and blowing cylinder from the West Point Foundry Association machine shops in New York City.³⁰

It was originally intended that all of this machinery, an estimated twenty tons, should be sent by ship from New York to Georgetown, the head of navigation on the Potomac River and the eastern terminal of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. At Georgetown the machinery would be unloaded and put on canal boats for carriage to Williamsport, a shipping and transfer point west of Harpers Ferry and about nine miles directly south of Hagerstown, Maryland.³¹ In 1837 the canal boat charge for carrying castings and other manufactured iron between Georgetown and Williamsport was \$3.50 per ton.³²

As it happened, only part of the company's order could be shipped in time to arrive in Maryland before ice closed the canal. The five boilers, each twenty-four feet long and thirty-six inches in diameter, reached Williamsport on October 24, 1837,³³ and arrangements were made at Lonaconing to have one of the neighboring farmers go to fetch them. Because of a shortage of wagons in the vicinity, it took him about ten days to assemble his crews and start on the ninety-mile trip to Williamsport.³⁴ The journey there and back required eleven days.

The steam engine itself (knocked down) reached Baltimore late in November 1837. The company's forwarding agent, William Alexander (a commission merchant who was a stockholder in the George's Creek Coal and Iron Company and brother of its president), had the various parts brought by dray to his establishment near the wharves. Here he employed laborers to pack and load the machinery for transport to Lonaconing,³⁵ where the superintendent noted the arrival of twelve wagons with "steam engine apparatus," "machinery stuff," and

29. Journal, June 28, July 22, Sept. 14, 20, Oct. 3, 29, 1839.

30. Journal entries refer to correspondence with William Kemble, younger brother of the Association's president, concerning delivery of the engine.

31. J. H. Alexander to J. P. Ingle, Aug. 7, 1837, Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Papers, National Archives.

32. Advertisements of William Holliday and Joseph Hollman, Hagerstown *Mail*, Mar. 10, 1837.

33. Journal, Nov. 8, 1837. Dimensions of the boilers are given in Walter R. Johnson, *Notes on the Use of Anthracite in the Manufacture of Iron* (Boston, 1841), p. 8n.

34. Journal, Nov. 9, 16, 22, 1837. The distance was computed from point to point on the stage route as given in *Mitchell's Traveller's Guide Through the United States* (Philadelphia, 1836).

35. See daybook entries, Nov. 28-Dec. 23, 1837, Welch and Alexander Record Books. The entries include drayage charges, laborers' wages, costs of wood and rope for packing, and the cost of weighing.

"machinery" between December 8, 1837, and February 25, 1838. One of the largest components of the blast machinery was the blowing cylinder, eight feet long and five feet in diameter. The wagoner with this load spent two days, even with the help of three extra men and eight additional horses, in getting the cylinder down the nine miles of muddy road between the turnpike and the ironworks. In a rare mishap one of the last wagons slipped off a snow-covered road (with the morning temperature fourteen degrees below zero!), but did not upset. It was necessary to unload and bring the machinery down the remaining five miles on sleds.³⁶

The final lot of machinery from New York, about three and a half tons, reached Baltimore on August 13, 1838.³⁷ This time, to secure freight rates lower than those quoted by wagoners, the company's agent forwarded the shipment part way by railroad—from Baltimore to Harpers Ferry on the Baltimore & Ohio, and from Harpers Ferry to Winchester, Virginia, on the Winchester and Potomac. From Winchester a forwarding agent transported the machinery by wagon to Lonaconing.³⁸

The machinery purchased from the West Point Foundry was only a part of the blast system. Its function was to force cold air through cast-iron pipes to two hot-air furnaces where it would be heated in a nest of pipes before passing through the tuyères into the blast furnace. Most of these pipes and the iron fixtures for the hot air furnaces were ordered from three foundries in Baltimore: Messrs. J. Barker & Sons, Ellicott's Iron Works, and Ross Winans.³⁹ These manufacturers delivered their castings to the company's agent for forwarding. For this service he charged his principal a commission of eight cents per 100 pounds. In November 1837 he sent on three wagons with pipes from Barkers' works. Additional orders from Barker in March 1838 amounted to more than 1,800 pounds. After July 1838 most heavy materials went by the Winchester route outlined above. A typical shipment from Winans via this route included: "1 iron branch & 1 bonnet, 633 lbs.; 12 boxes & 12 bearings & 4 axles & wheels, 370 lbs.; 4 furnace doors & 4 pcs frame, 1,319 lbs."⁴⁰ The branch, bonnet, furnace doors, and frames, of course, were for the hot blast system; the remainder of the order was railroad material. For installing the blast pipes, it was necessary to obtain also from Winans 700 pounds of iron borings to be used in making cement for the joints.⁴¹

When all the blast machinery was in place, the permanent water supply for the boilers was set up. Some water was brought from a stream flowing out of the coal

36. Journal, Jan. 2, 3, 4, Feb. 25, 26, 1838.

37. W. Alexander to J. H. Alexander, Aug. 14, 1838, Alexander Papers.

38. The rationale for using this route is set out in W. Alexander to Robert Graham, July 7 and 26, 1838, Letter Book 1, Welch and Alexander Record Books.

39. Journal, Oct. 30, 1837; July 21, Aug. 31, 1838.

40. Daybook, Mar. 16, 23, Aug. 13, 1838, Welch and Alexander Record Books; Journal, Nov. 13, 15, 1837.

41. Journal, July 26, 1838; and Order Book, Sept. 24, 1838, Winans Papers. The borings cost 5 cents per pound at the foundry. One formula for the cement was: 5 parts iron borings, 1 part fine clay, moistened by vinegar. An alternative formula was: 60 parts borings, 1 part sal ammonia, 6 parts clay, the whole moistened by water (Frederick Overman, *Treatise on Metallurgy*, 6th ed. [New York, 1882], p. 420).

mine on the hill above the furnace. More water came into a covered reservoir through wooden pipes laid from the millrace dam, which was about 1,600 feet from the furnace. A nilometer in the cistern showed whether the water supply was keeping up with consumption.⁴²

When in blast the furnace also required a steady flow of cold water to the tuyères. Water for the tuyères was filtered before it entered log pipes laid from the millrace dam. The carpenter constructed a two-compartment filter bed eighteen feet square and eight feet high set on the bottom of the race just above the headgates. The upstream compartment contained a bed of sand and gravel eighteen inches thick. After filtration the water flowed into the downstream compartment, which contained, and thus protected, the openings of the pipes. A farmer was hired to get logs of the proper size, and a contractor agreed to bore the pipes with a 1½-inch auger (sent by wagon from Baltimore the preceding winter) at the rate of six cents a foot, with the company providing food and lodging for himself and his helper. The pipe was bored and laid by the first of May 1839, but had to be taken up again because the flow was inadequate. With obstructions removed, the pipes delivered fourteen gallons a minute.⁴³

The activities so far described culminated in the charging of the furnace on May 9, 1839, and the first run-out of iron on May 17. In anticipation of these events, the company's miners and quarriers had for more than eighteen months been digging and stockpiling iron ore, coal, and limestone flux. The journal's first entry indicates that iron ore was already being dug. Within a month workmen began uncovering an outcrop of the principal coal vein,⁴⁴ and as we have seen, quarries had been opened to provide lime for mortar.

The hill above the furnace contained at least nineteen veins of iron ore and ten beds of coal sandwiched in with layers of sandstone, slate, shale, and fireclay. Iron ore bands varied from a few inches to about a foot in thickness, and the coal deposits ranged from twelve inches to fourteen and one-half feet.⁴⁵ On this hill the company opened five underground iron mines and one mine in the fourteen-and-one-half-foot coal bed.⁴⁶ It also developed a number of open pit workings which did not require skilled miners. With a little supervision, laborers with picks, shovels, and wheelbarrows could remove the earth above a vein of iron ore and then take out the ore itself.

Laborers were abundant, but the experienced miners needed underground were scarce.⁴⁷ In the spring of 1838 the company set a recruiter to Pottsville, Pennsylvania, a coal and iron mining center, where he was moderately successful in finding men willing to go to Maryland. Two miners were seduced away from

42. Journal, Oct. 27, Nov. 10, 21, 1838; Jan. 2, 1839; and GCC&I Co. Report, 1839, p. 7. By a calculation made in the journal Aug. 15, 1838, the coal mine stream would furnish 150 gallons an hour, 3/5 of the required supply.

43. *Ibid.*, Journal, Dec. 17, 1838; March 4, 5, 23, Apr. 29, May 1, 7, 8, 1839. This proved not to be enough, and the tuyères burned out soon after the furnace went into blast (*Ibid.*, May 27, 1839).

44. Journal, Sept. 21, 1837.

45. GCC&I Co. Report, 1836, plates 4-6, and pp. 12-15; and J. T. Ducatel, *Annual Report of the Geologist of Maryland, 1840* (Annapolis, 1840), plate II.

46. GCC&I Co. Report, 1839, pp. 6, 8. These were all adit level mines.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

the Chesapeake and Ohio canal tunnel near Cumberland. By May 1 the underground miners numbered thirty-six. Throughout the rest of the year men continued to drift down from Pottsville. In addition the company brought in coal miners from Wales, paying the passage of the men and their families, but requiring reimbursement from the \$1.50 daily wage offered. The twenty-eight Welsh colliers (including nine boys ten to sixteen years old) appear to have completed the underground force.⁴⁸

The company furnished all tools for miners and quarrymen. It ordered shovels through its Baltimore agent about every two months throughout 1838, and at longer intervals during 1839. The company's blacksmiths made and sharpened other tools, and the carpenters made wheelbarrows. Most of the iron for the blacksmiths was obtained from F. H. Oliphant, whose works near Uniontown, Pennsylvania, convenient to the National Road, were about sixty miles from Lonaconing. If the order made up a full wagon load, Oliphant would deliver it, charging fifty cents per 100 pounds for freight. Part loads were dropped off at Frostburg and hauled from there by George's Creek company teams. Orders for blacksmith iron went also to King, Swope & Co. of Bloody Run (now Everett), and a Mr. Bowers, of Franklin County, Pennsylvania. Tool steel, on the other hand, had to come from Baltimore.⁴⁹

At first the company obtained small amounts of blasting powder in Frostburg, but as its operations expanded, it ordered large quantities from Baltimore. The agent's records show that he shipped about 7,300 pounds of gunpowder between March 1 and November 1, 1838.⁵⁰ About a third of this was sent part way by rail over the Winchester route, and the rest traveled all the way by wagon. At the ironworks explosives were stored in a powder magazine built in the summer of 1838.⁵¹

By blasting, cutting, and digging the miners burrowed into the side of the hill. Close on their heels came the men laying the tram roads for carrying the ore and coal to the pit mouth. Cart roads and tram roads connected the mines and quarries with the top-house yard, where furnace hands roasted the ore, coked the coal, and broke up the limestone.⁵² The ore and coal were processed in clamps similar to those used for burning lime.⁵³

48. Journal, Mar. 5, 10, 12, 23, 24, April 19, Sept. 15, 24, 27, Dec. 26, 1838; passenger list of barque *Tiberias*, which arrived in Baltimore with the miners on Sept. 11, 1838 (National Archives).

49. Letterbooks and daybooks, 1837-40, Welch and Alexander Record Books, *passim*; Journal, Aug. 25, Sept. 15, 29, Oct. 22, 1837; and Jan. 4, Mar. 6, April 25, June 19, 26, and Dec. 21, 26, 1838. The company agent forwarded in one order 347 lbs. cast steel, 47 lbs. blistered steel, and 52 lbs. German steel (Daybook, May 30, 1838, Welch and Alexander Record Books).

50. Journal, Aug. 28, 1837; W. Alexander to Isaac Paul, Aug. 13, Sept. 27, Oct. 6, 1838; and W. Alexander to Robert Graham, Oct. 27, 1838, Letter Book 1; Daybook, Mar. 7, May 8, 17, 23, and June 16, 1838, Welch and Alexander Record Books.

51. Journal, June 27 and 28, 1838.

52. *Ibid.*, Aug. 21, Sept. 27, Oct. 12, 19, 1837; Jan. 5, Mar. 30, May 11, 1838; and Jan. 7, 12, Feb. 21, Sept. 7, 1839. A tram road and a cart road built in 1839 connected two limestone quarries with the head of the inclined plane, described earlier. Both coal and limestone were sent from the top of the hill by this railroad (*Ibid.*, Mar. 8, Apr. 19, June 4, 1839).

53. *Ibid.*, Sept. 18, 1837; Feb. 27, 1838; Jan. 12, Apr. 27, Oct. 23, 31, 1839. See J. H. Alexander, *Report on the Manufacture of Iron*, pp. 144-45 and 163 for descriptions of clamps for roasting ore and making coke, with specific reference to the methods used at Lonaconing.

The 38 furnace hands and the 140 miners, above and below ground, constituted the major portion of the 220 persons employed at the ironworks during peak production.⁵⁴ Workers and their families brought the village population to 700 in mid-1839. In a region "hitherto almost a wilderness," providing shelter and sustenance for this population was the responsibility of the employer.⁵⁵ A number of boarding houses (referred to as "shantees") erected on the flat ground near the furnace accommodated the workmen earliest on the scene, including the masons building the stack and subsequently the brickmakers. Because of the severe winters in the mountains of western Maryland, these houses had to be of substantial construction. Some of the boarding houses were in fact lined with brick after their occupants complained of the cold.⁵⁶

Family men rented dwellings outside the boundaries of the mining estate while awaiting completion of the log cabins which the company began to provide in September 1837. Generally speaking, native residents of the area (whom the city-bred superintendent called "mountaineers") contracted to build the shells of the cabins, and the company carpenters put in the floors and did the interior finishing. Sometimes the company's horses hauled logs to the cabin sites; occasionally the mountaineer contractor received an extra \$4 per cabin for hauling his own logs. The company furnished and delivered the plank for flooring. In all, eighty-two double (two-family) cabins were built, some on the hill above the furnace, some on the flat ground on both sides of George's Creek, and some on lots laid out along what was to be the town's main street.⁵⁷

Also on the main street was the company store, a two-story edifice thirty-five by ninety feet, with cellars below and an attic above. The second floor contained an apartment for the company chaplain and his family, as well as offices for the doctor and the engineers, the latter having bachelor quarters in the attic.⁵⁸ Like other general stores of the period, the company emporium carried an astonishing amount and variety of goods. Its principal supplier was William Alexander, the company's Baltimore commission agent. Alexander's shipments contained much that would be expected—soap, candles, salt, sugar, molasses, salt fish, cheese, coffee, and tea; they contained in addition generous amounts of what might have been considered luxury items—chocolate, tobacco, oranges, lemons, currants, almonds, figs, and many barrels and bottles of wine, including champagne. The wagons from Baltimore also brought clothing, shoes, dry goods, hardware, crockery, tinware, cutlery, glassware, brooms, umbrellas, and even fiddles, flutes, and harp strings.⁵⁹

54. Journal, Mar. 13, May 27, 1839; Alexander, *Report on the Manufacture of Iron*, p. 93.

55. GCC&I Co. Report, 1839, p. 13.

56. Scharf, *Western Maryland*, 2: 1500; Journal, Oct. 9, 13, 1837; and Feb. 3, Oct. 31, Dec. 12, 24, 1838; GCC&I Co. Report, 1839, p. 6.

57. Journal, Sept. 18, Oct. 11, 17, 1837; and Jan. 18, Mar. 13, 15, 21, April 3, 18, 21, 25, Aug. 27, 1838; testimony of Robert Graham in *George's Creek Coal and Iron Company v. C. E. Detmold*, Chancery Records No. 8284, Md. Hall of Records.

58. Robt. Graham to Richard Wilson, Oct. 23, 1839, GCC&I Co. Letter Book, Md. Hist. Soc.; Journal, Sept. 2, 12, 1839.

59. In the autumn of 1839 the stock in the new building was valued at \$10,000. About \$1,200 had not yet been moved from the old store (Graham to Wilson, Oct. 23, 1839, GCC&I Co. Letter Book). The two Welch and Alexander letter books list the goods sent, and sometimes discuss their quality,

The most conspicuous omissions from the Alexander shipments were flour and cured meats. Flour could be procured closer at hand and more cheaply from Uniontown, Pennsylvania, and Moorfield, Virginia. Hams came from Moorfield; bacon, from Wheeling. Eventually the company had to build a smokehouse because of "the precarious condition of about 12000 lbs. of Bacon now hanging in the cellar of the new store and in which the worms already appear in numbers."⁶⁰

Fresh meat arrived on the hoof. The butcher periodically crossed into Virginia to bargain with farmers whose principal business was the grazing and stall feeding of livestock for eastern markets.⁶¹ Along the South Branch of the Potomac and along the Cheat River, he purchased cattle and sheep and drove them back to Lonaconing, where he had a slaughter yard.⁶²

The number of animals he brought back at any one time depended upon his instructions. The journal records his return with as few as four and as many as twelve beeves, which he paid for with money advanced by the company. On one trip he also arranged that twenty head which he bought would be fed by the farmer for an additional six weeks and would be paid for at the rate of \$43 per head when taken away. We have no report of the weight of these cattle. Another drover from Virginia charged \$65 apiece for steers averaging 675 pounds. Meat was offered for sale not at the store but in a separate market house.⁶³

Whether as insignificant as the market house or as imposing as the store, every unit of frame construction in the village or at the furnace complex, as well as every foot of rail laid down, and every tram car built, put a strain on the chronically short supply of sawed lumber. Frustrating delays occurred because of the shortage of seasoned lumber and plank.⁶⁴ The several small sawmills in the vicinity, including one owned by the company, did not have the capacity to meet large-scale demands, and in any event were frequently stopped for as much as a week or more because of low water or because they were frozen up.⁶⁵

During 1837 and 1838 the company had saw logs hauled to its own mill and got whatever small quantities of lumber it could from its neighbors. It also sent wagoners to Frostburg and Westernport to bring back dozens of loads of plank, which was dried in a newly-built kiln.⁶⁶ The scarcity of lumber led to a decision in the spring of 1838 to contract for the erection of "a very large Saw-mill" and for

conveying the impression that wages at Lonaconing were sufficient to allow the purchase of more than mere necessities.

60. For Uniontown transactions see Journal, Jan. 15, 1839, and Robt. Graham to Robt. Boyd, Oct. 14, 1839, GCC&I Co. Letter Book; for Moorfield transactions, see Journal Sept. 19, 20, 1838, and Graham to John Hopewell, Sept. 21, Oct. 5, 14, Nov. 4, 9, 1839, Letter Book; Journal, Apr. 10, July 11, 1838, Sept. 13, 1839.

61. For an interesting account of the early nineteenth-century economy of this section of what is now West Virginia, see Otis K. Rice, *The Allegheny Frontier* (Lexington, 1970), Ch. 13.

62. Journal, Jan. 14, Feb. 4, 1839.

63. *Ibid.*, Jan. 3, 12, Feb. 4, 8, 16, Mar. 23, Apr. 8, 1839. One assumes that a market house would not have been built solely for this purpose, and that it also would have contained stalls for the sale of fruits, vegetables, poultry, eggs, and dairy products by farmers in the vicinity.

64. GCC&I Co. Report, 1839, p. 6; and Journal, *passim*.

65. The company acquired this small mill in purchasing land south of its original tract. One close neighbor to the north and another to the south also had mills along George's Creek (Journal, Aug. 24, Sept. 15, Dec. 12, 15, 17, 1837; Jan. 25, Feb. 19, 1838).

66. *Ibid.*, Aug. 24, Sept. 22, 23, 26, 29, Oct. 4, Dec. 17, 1837; and Feb. 7, 14, July 5, 1838.

the building of seven and a half miles of graded road to connect the new mill with white pine forests on the company's more remote lands.⁶⁷

With its new sawmill and several other large buildings under way early in 1839, the company began to do business with a steam sawmill in Selbysport, Maryland, which could offer at one time as much as 30,000 feet of kiln-dried plank delivered at the works. The proprietors of the steam sawmill, however, sometimes refused to deliver, and when the iron company sent its own wagons, the round trip took nine days. Finding this source of supply unreliable because of inordinate delays followed by attempts to substitute inferior materials, the superintendent at Lonaconing transferred his patronage to two other dealers who offered to supply lumber in large quantities.⁶⁸ Unfortunately, the second of these, like his competitor at the steam sawmill, frequently sent along "green rough stuff" instead of the kiln-dried plank specified in his contract. Furthermore, he dragged out his deliveries far beyond the time when the lumber was needed.⁶⁹

By the end of November 1839 the company was operating its own new mill, which had a capacity of 20,000 feet a day. Equipped also with shingle and lath machines, it was able not only to satisfy the company's various needs, but also to produce a surplus for sale.⁷⁰

It is ironic that in the midst of great forests the company so often found itself out of lumber. In contrast, other building materials coming from a considerable distance could be obtained promptly and in the quantities ordered. The steady supply of nails is a good example. For at least the first nine months of construction, the superintendent ordered nails through William Alexander in Baltimore, paying freight for 150 miles and getting delivery at the works. Later orders for nails went to F. H. Oliphant at Uniontown, Pennsylvania, and David Agnew at Wheeling, Virginia, who provided transport only as far as Frostburg.⁷¹

Probably one of the most interesting orders for building material was for 10,000 square feet of zinc for the engine house and molding house roofs, and its handling demonstrates how expeditiously both supplier and forwarder acted. On September 5, 1838, the superintendent at Lonaconing wrote to Baltimore, ordering the zinc. On September 22 it was put on board a Baltimore & Ohio train on the first stage of the trip to Lonaconing via Winchester. The total of 10,200 pounds was rolled and packed in casks, each of which had a shipping weight of about 1,135 pounds.⁷²

67. GCC&I Co. Report, 1839, p. 7.

68. Journal, Jan. 7, 16, Mar. 14, 23, Apr. 4, 21, 25, 30, June 11, 1839.

69. Robt. Graham to G. W. Bedford, Nov. 19, 1839, GCC&I Co. Letter Book; and Journal, June 11, July 29, 1839; and Jan. 30, 1840.

70. GCC&I Co. Report, 1839, p. 7; Robt. Graham to John H. Clarke, Feb. 11, 1840, GCC&I Co. Letter Book.

71. Daybook, Dec. 20, 21, 1837, and May 23, 30, 1838, Welch and Alexander Record Books. A typical Oliphant order was one for twenty-two kegs of various sizes of nails (Graham to Oliphant, Nov. 6, 1839, GCC&I Co. Letter Book). Similarly, a typical order to Agnew called for delivery of ten kegs of nails (Graham to Agnew, Sept. 21, 1839, *ibid*).

72. W. Alexander to Isaac Paul, Sept. 22, 24, 1838, Letter Book 1, Welch and Alexander Record Books, and Welch and Alexander daybook, Sept. 22, 25, 1838. The transfer agent at Winchester was advised that if necessary he might employ a cooper to reinforce the casks, but that he should be careful to see that no nails were driven in "so as to enter or injure the zinc" (Alexander to Paul, Sept. 22, 1838).

Delivery of zinc, nails, iron castings, and the like (and, of course, store goods) depended upon the availability of wagons, the willingness of wagoners to leave the hard-surfaced turnpike and essay the nine miles from Frostburg to Lonaconing, and the agreement between company agent and wagoner on the rate to be charged. Until the spring of 1838 William Alexander seems to have had no difficulty in arranging for transport, but then he began to report trouble in finding a wagoner "disposed to go to your place." It was soon after this that he began forwarding by the Winchester route. During most of 1838 and 1839 he sent at least one load a week, mentioning from time to time that he had bargained for hauling prices of anywhere from \$1.50 to \$2.50 per hundred pounds. Goods traveling all the way by wagon from Baltimore reached Lonaconing in nine days.⁷³ The trip via Winchester apparently required the same amount of time.⁷⁴ However, if the emergency were great, small packages could be sent by mail coach, reaching Frostburg the next day. For example, screw taps urgently needed for threading the ends of the furnace binders were carried by stage at a cost of \$4.⁷⁵

When one examines the company's journal and letter book and the records of its Baltimore agent, noting the amount of correspondence and the numbers of orders, it is obvious that the progress of the ironworks depended to a great extent on the efficiency of the postal service. At the company's behest a post office was established at Lonaconing in October 1837. Not surprisingly, the first two postmasters were company employees.⁷⁶ Another company employee carried daily mail to and from Frostburg except on those occasions when the road was blocked by snowdrifts or high water. His contract with the Post Office Department brought him \$400 a year.⁷⁷

To an observer in the 1970s it appears that mail in the 1830s moved with remarkable celerity. Letters traveling by regular mail in either direction between Lonaconing and Baltimore reached their addressees (not merely the post offices) two days after mailing.⁷⁸

Without speedy communication it would have been difficult to deal with a peculiar problem in logistics arising from the unsettled state of the economy between 1837 and 1843. The company made all its major payments, including wages, by checks drawn on the Bank of Baltimore, maintaining an account in the

73. Alexander to Dittmer, Feb. 24, 1838; Alexander to Tyson, May 5, 1838; Alexander to Paul, Oct. 4, 1838; and Alexander to Graham, Oct. 27, 1838; Apr. 4, 1839, Letter Book 1, Welch and Alexander Record Books.

74. This supposition is based on admittedly thin evidence. Alexander reports starting a heavy load on this route on Aug. 13, 1838, and the Journal of Aug. 22 states, "In the Evg. the waggons arrive."

75. The screw taps were made by Charles C. Reinhardt, a Baltimore instrument maker, who charged \$32. They were sent to Frostburg on the Stockton & Stokes stage (Daybook, Nov. 8, Dec. 15, 1837, Welch and Alexander Record Books).

76. Journal, Oct. 10, 28, 30, 1837, and postal records, National Archives. Frederick Pauer, chief clerk, was postmaster from Oct. 5, 1837, to Dec. 3, 1838. He was succeeded by Robert Graham, business manager and later superintendent, who served until Apr. 27, 1849.

77. As on Jan. 27, 1839, when the Journal records that he found snow seven feet deep in some places. Graham to Gardiner, Apr. 2, 1840, GCC&I Co. Letter Book.

78. As indicated by notation of date received. In the spring of 1837 the Post Office Department invited proposals for carrying express mail between Baltimore and Cumberland in fourteen hours (Hagerstown Mail, Mar. 31, 1837).

Bank of Cumberland so that employees might cash their checks there. It was necessary also to keep a stock of small bills and change at Lonaconing for the store and for various minor cash transactions. This was not easy during periods when the nation's banks suspended specie payments. In October 1837, for instance, the company's president, then at Lonaconing, was informed that he would receive a supply of money in \$5 and \$10 bank notes, but was cautioned: "In common with all other Banks we are compelled to make shifts to maintain our circulation. . . . The paper money if it can be avoided must not return to us in a mass."⁷⁹

Even after the resumption of specie payments in the spring of 1838, the Bank of Cumberland sometimes refused to supply notes and coin in response to the superintendent's request, resulting on one occasion in the business manager's having to borrow money from his workmen in order to pay off several miners who wished to leave. With some cooperation from another Cumberland bank, which would redeem its own notes, and with a supply of small bills sent from Virginia, affairs went on reasonably well until a second stoppage of specie payments and the onset of a serious depression in the fall of 1839.⁸⁰ At the beginning of October there was on hand at Lonaconing \$106 in specie and \$975 in bank notes, enough to last for the rest of the month. Foreseeing that the company treasurer might have difficulty in sending change, the business manager suggested that he be supplied with scrip in denominations of 12, 14, 25, and 50 cents "on good paper with such Device as will tend to our security."⁸¹ On this occasion he also indicated that he would like to have \$1, \$2, and \$3 notes of certain New York banks whose paper had already been circulated in western Maryland by the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company.

The preceding two paragraphs reflect only peripherally the disarray of the London money market in the summer of 1839 and the depth of the subsequent depression in the United States. These events must be noted, because they had a direct bearing on the George's Creek Coal and Iron Company's ultimate problem in logistics—that of moving its product to seaboard. The entire Lonaconing venture had been predicated on access to market via the Chesapeake and Ohio canal.⁸²

When the iron company began work on its furnace, it was supposed that the canal would reach Cumberland late in 1839 or early in 1840.⁸³ The company accordingly bought a tract of land on the Potomac, intending to build wharves and construct a basin which would in effect extend navigation from the end of the canal up river about a mile above Cumberland. During most of 1839 the

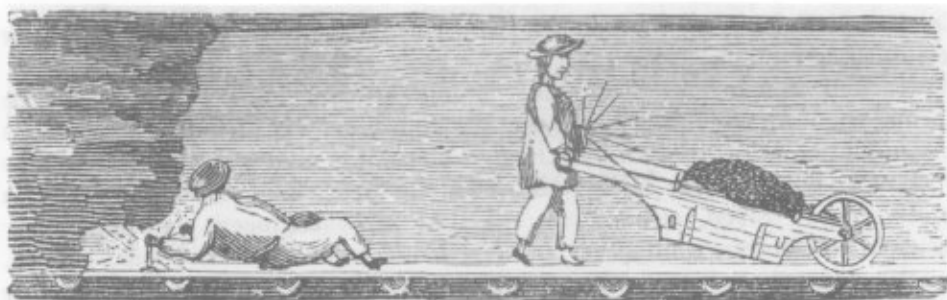
79. Journal, Feb. 6, May 4, June 13, 1838; T. S. Alexander to J. H. Alexander, Oct. 22, 1837, Alexander Papers.

80. Journal, Sept. 18, 25, Nov. 23, 24, 1838; Jan. 19, 21, 31, 1839.

81. Graham to Wilson, Oct. 3, 14, 1839, GCC&I Co. Letter Book. The scrip of the Ohio canal companies was suggested as a model. Presumably the scrip would circulate only in Lonaconing and the immediate vicinity (See Graham to Wilson, Nov. 18, 1839).

82. GCC&I Co. Report, 1839, p. 10.

83. C&O Canal Co., *Ninth Annual Report* (Washington, 1837), p. 11. This prediction was repeated in the annual report for 1838 (p. 7).



Mining iron ore. From Overman, *Treatise on Metallurgy*.

company's corps of engineers was engaged in surveying three possible routes for a railroad connecting the works with the proposed shipping depot.⁸⁴

In June 1839 the canal was still fifty miles from Cumberland, held up by a lack of money attributed to "embarrassments of the money market in England and the United States," and it seemed unlikely that it would be finished before the spring of 1842. In the meantime the George's Creek Coal and Iron Company was suffering embarrassments of its own. Its furnace was producing daily thirteen tons of top-quality pig iron which could not be sent eastward except at excessive expense.⁸⁵ Wagoners charged 50 cents per hundred pounds (amounting to \$10 per short ton) to take iron from Lonaconing to Baltimore.⁸⁶ Pig iron could be carried on the canal from Williamsport to Georgetown for \$2.50 a ton, or on canal and railroad from Williamsport to Baltimore for \$4.35 a ton.⁸⁷

Faced with a logistics problem over which it had no control, the company blew out the big furnace and began to use its stock of pigs for casting from its small cupola furnace various materials for its own use, particularly iron rails to be laid in the mines and on the tram roads connecting the different parts of the works. It postponed construction of its railroad to the proposed depot on the Potomac, and settled into a maintenance routine with reduced staff.⁸⁸

The caretaker superintendent wrote in September of 1840, "When our Legislators please to give us a Canal, our business will resume."⁸⁹ This was not to be precisely the case. After thirteen troubled years (whose history is outside the scope of this paper), business did indeed resume, but in coal, not iron. The company was able to survive a long period with virtually no income and then to rise swiftly to the role of a major producer in the increasingly important George's

84. GCC&I Co. Report, 1839, pp. 7, 8, 10; and J. H. Alexander to J. P. Ingle, Sept. 15, 1838, C&O Canal Records, National Archives.

85. C&O Canal Co., *Eleventh Annual Report* (Washington, 1839), pp. 4, 9; and GCC&I Co. Report, 1839, pp. 10, 12. There was in fact almost no market for the bonds which the State of Maryland had issued to finance both the canal and the B&O Railroad (Message of Governor William Grason to the Md. Legislature, Jan. 2, 1840). The canal did not reach Cumberland until 1850.

86. Alexander to Graham, June 13, 1839, Letter Book 2, Welch and Alexander Record Books.

87. Adv. in Hagerstown *Mail*, Mar. 10, 1837.

88. Journal, July 26, Aug. 3, and blanket entry Aug. 14-21, 1839; GCC&I Co. Report, 1839, p. 10. The Journal and Letter Book reflect increasing retrenchment after August 1839.

89. Graham to Forsythe, Moore & Co., Sept. 24, 1840, GCC&I Co. Letter Book.

Creek coal field. The original company carried on until 1910; its successor remained active until 1952.

Although this article is directed mainly at throwing some light on the beginnings of an early nineteenth century ironworks, some general observations are prompted by the material. In the first place, it is interesting to note that the work at Lonaconing was carried out under the direction of civilian engineers, a relatively new breed, although at the time army engineers were commonly assigned to examine and survey mineral lands and to lay out roads, bridges, canals, and railroads for private enterprises. Secondly, we have a concrete example of the ability of American technology of the period to adopt British techniques for the large-scale manufacture of iron. And thirdly, and perhaps most significantly, we can suggest that in this particular instance the technology was too advanced for the time and the location. Small charcoal furnaces prospered on the frontier because they produced for local use the fine quality iron demanded by blacksmiths and small foundries. Iron smelted with coke or raw bituminous coal was particularly suited for rails and heavy industrial castings, but unless their product could be delivered to market cheaply, ironworks using the new smelting process had no hope of survival. Ironworks in the more favorably situated anthracite region, with its network of canals and railroads, had no such problem.

William Norris and the Confederate Signal and Secret Service

DAVID WINFRED GADDY

SECRECY BREEDS ANONYMITY. IT IS NOT SURPRISING THAT THE HEAD OF THE Confederate Secret Service Bureau has eluded historians. Nor is the position of Commissioner of Prisoner Exchange likely to draw more than a footnote, particularly when elevation to that post took place in the last frantic days of the Confederacy. But the man who held both of these jobs, William Norris of Maryland, was also the Chief Signal Officer of the Confederate States Army—Chief of the Signal Bureau in Richmond—and, in that capacity, headed what has been termed the world's first formally organized military signal corps.¹ Even that distinction is virtually unknown. Other than a memorial window in a quiet wayside church, and his tombstone nearby, no monument to him stands. The official records of his wartime activities were, for the most part, destroyed; no diary survived; no autobiography was published.

Anonymity would be bad enough, but even worse, perhaps, is the curse of obscurity. Two modern historians have confused Major William Norris with Dr. William S. Morris, president of the wartime Southern Telegraph Company.² Contemporaries cast doubt on the ultimate rank he attained in the Confederate service, that of colonel.³ His bureau's connection with espionage activities has remained obscure;⁴ state historians seem to have been oblivious even of his existence.⁵ And yet few, if any, of his rank bore, for nearly three years, the responsibilities, held the position of trust, and performed such unique and unsung service to their government as this Marylander to the Confederate States of America.

Mr. David W. Gaddy lives in New Carrollton, Maryland.

1. "The Confederate States Army Signal Corps was the first independent branch of professional signalmen in the military history of the world" (David J. Marshall, "The Confederate Army's Signal Corps," in *The Story of the US Army Signal Corps*, ed. by Max L. Marshall [New York, 1965], p. 63.)

2. Edward Younger, ed., *Inside the Confederate Government: The Diary of Robert Garlick Hill Kean* (New York, 1957), pp. xxiv and Index, p. 238; Milton F. Perry, *Infernal Machines: The Story of Confederate Submarine and Mine Warfare* (Baton Rouge, 1965), p. 14.

3. "His rank in the CS Army appears never to have been higher than that of major" is an editor's comment (*Southern Historical Society Papers*, 49 vols. [Richmond, Va., 1876-1944], 16: 93).

4. Edwin C. Fishel, "The Mythology of Civil War Intelligence," *Civil War History*, 10 (December 1964): 345-46.

5. An exception is H. V. Canan, "Confederate Military Intelligence," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 59 (March 1964): 34-51.



Col. William Norris, after 1865. *From original carte de visite in possession of Mrs. Josephine Norris Cotton.*

William Norris was born in Baltimore County on December 6, 1820, the son of Richard Norris, a hardware merchant and founder of Richard Norris & Company. He was a descendent of Henry Norris, who emigrated from England in 1680. His paternal grandfather, William Norris, had a drygoods store in Baltimore; his father's brother, also named William (1802–1867), gained fame as a builder of locomotives.⁶

At the age of nineteen Norris graduated from Yale College (Class of 1840) and went to New Orleans, where he practiced law. News of the discovery of gold in California prompted him to outfit a ship and sail to San Francisco, where he arrived in March 1849 in the vanguard of the Forty-Niners.⁷ Immediately upon his arrival, however, he was appointed Judge Advocate to the United States Pacific Squadron, forerunner of today's Pacific Fleet, then commanded by Thomas ap Catesby Jones.⁸ As judge advocate Norris participated in trials, courts of inquiry, and courts-martial during March, April, May, and October of

6. Obituary, *Baltimore Sun*, December 30, 1896; *Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. "Norris, William." William Norris is not to be confused with William H. Norris of Baltimore, a contemporary.

7. *Baltimore Sun*, December 30, 1896.

8. An interesting sketch of Jones and the period of his service in California is Gilbert Workman, "Forgotten Firebrand," *United States Naval Institute Proceedings*, 94 (September 1968):79–87.

1849. In 1851 he sailed to Valparaiso, Chile, and there, on March 13, 1851, he was married in the Protestant Episcopal Chapel to Ellen Lyles Hobson of Baltimore, a daughter of a former United States consul.⁹

Norris returned home with his bride to settle down at the family estate, *Brookland*, near Reisterstown northwest of Baltimore. There in 1852 his wife gave birth to their first child, a son, named Richard for his grandfather. During the next two years Norris tried repeatedly, although apparently without success, to secure compensation for his legal service to the Pacific Squadron. In 1858 he ventured into business as the president of the Baltimore Mechanical Bakery, an ultra-modern establishment on South Howard near Pratt Street. According to a contemporary newspaper account, he took pride in personally escorting visitors through the facility, and explaining the mysteries of its equipment.¹⁰

On July 25, 1860, Norris attended the twentieth reunion of his Yale Class.¹¹ There were other Forty-Niners among his classmates, one of them William H. Tiffany, brother of the founder of Tiffany & Company. There were teachers, one of whom, Elias Hewitt Williams of Groton, Connecticut, taught in New Hampshire for a year after graduation, then went to Columbia, South Carolina, where he taught, studied law, and prepared young men for the university—one of his students was Wade Hampton. The class would split with the nation: John Devereux of North Carolina would serve as quartermaster of the state and a member of the state government under the Confederacy. Stuart W. Fisk of Natchez would die at Shiloh as colonel of a southern regiment, while Lewis Baldwin Parson would serve as chief of rail and river transportation for the Union Army, and win fame and promotion for moving the 20,000-man XXIII Corps from Eastport, Mississippi, to the Potomac (1,400 miles, in mid-winter) in eleven days. John Perkins of Natchez would be chairman of his state's secession convention in 1861, would serve as a member of the Confederate Congress, and would later join the Confederate expatriates in Mexico. One, Charles R. Ingersoll, would become governor of Connecticut.¹² One would give up his home, his fortune, and his state to aid the Confederacy, and serve as the head of its Signal and Secret Service Bureaus.

During the winter of 1860–61, the strong, pro-Confederate sentiment of Baltimore was being manifested. Normally a blunt, outspoken man, William Norris made no effort to conceal his own feelings.¹³ As state after state in the

9. William Norris Papers, Manuscript Collection, University of Virginia. Used by permission and hereinafter cited as Norris Papers, this previously unexploited collection comprises a small scrapbook of souvenirs kept by Norris, as well as copies of some of his wartime and postwar correspondence, plus family correspondence. Its value lies in the uniqueness of the information it reveals, for the official records of the Signal Bureau were destroyed by fire at the evacuation of Richmond, and the bulk of Norris's papers were lost in a postwar fire which destroyed his home.

10. Norris Papers. A copy of the newspaper clipping is in a scrapbook kept by Norris.

11. Yale College, *Historical Record of the Class of 1840* (New Haven, 1870), p. 8.

12. *Ibid.* Years after the war Norris wrote on a newspaper clipping about Ingersoll: "My old class mate at Yale & the only Yankee I ever knew that had the instincts of a Gentleman. I knew very many though" (Norris Papers).

13. Norris's sentiments are reflected in a letter of March 17, 1861, from Louis T. Wigfall, in which the writer discusses pro-Confederate feelings in Baltimore (U.S. Adjutant General's Office, *Letters Received by the Confederate War Department* [Washington, 1876], p. 1031).

South left the Union, martial organizations in Baltimore and Washington were openly announcing their southern sympathies and holding demonstrations and drills, both to train and to attract new members. Three days after Virginia entered into a military alliance with the Confederacy, one such organization, the "Maryland Chasseurs," staged a special demonstration in Baltimore. One of its members received a notice that the meeting would be held at the armory at 3 p.m. on April 27, 1861, "to adjourn at 5 p.m. on horseback *with sabres* at the Washington Monument." His invitation differed, in that, at the bottom, in longhand, appeared these words: "Can you not bring Mr. Norris with you?"¹⁴ He did. It was as if the infant Confederacy posed the question. When the time came, Norris took his family and went to Richmond.

At the age of forty, with a wife in delicate health and five children ranging in age from one to nine, Norris left for Virginia, and there volunteered his services as a civilian aide on the staff of Brigadier General John Bankhead Magruder. On July 18, 1861, Magruder gave Norris authority to establish a system of signals on the Peninsula and across the James River. Drawing on his own nautical experience, and having witnessed a system in successful operation in Norfolk, Norris set up a network which employed flags and colored balls raised on poles. Magruder was favorably impressed with the accomplishment. He commended Norris to Secretary of War Walker in a letter of July 27, and he recommended that Norris be commissioned a captain. On that same date a similar appeal was addressed to R. E. Lee, Commander in Chief of the Virginia Forces, by Lieutenant Catesby ap Roger Jones, urging that Norris be appointed to Magruder's staff.¹⁵

Whether the delay was occasioned by normal red tape or other reasons, Norris continued to serve in a semi-official capacity. In November Magruder announced Norris's rank as captain and his position as signal officer of the Army of the Peninsula.¹⁶ Subsequent correspondence with Richmond, however, found Magruder varying his references to Norris as "Captain Norris, my signal officer," and "Mr. Norris, my signal officer." As late as May 3, 1862, he again called the attention of General Samuel Cooper to "the valuable services rendered by Mr. William Norris, of Baltimore, the signal officer in charge of the signal service of the Peninsula," suggesting that the rank of captain had not received confirmation as of that date.¹⁷

14. Norris Papers.

15. Edward H. Cummins, "The Signal Corps in the Confederate States Army," *Southern Historical Society Papers*, 16: 93-107, reprinted in Benjamin LaBree, ed., *The Confederate Soldier in the Civil War* (Louisville, 1895); J. Willard Brown, *The Signal Corps, U.S.A., in the War of the Rebellion* (Boston, 1896), p. 205; Norris Papers.

16. *The War of the Rebellion: A Compendium of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1880-1901), ser. 1, 9: 44, 57. Hereinafter cited as OR.

17. OR, ser. 1, 11: 410. Norris's service records are found in part in the Norris Papers and in the National Archives among the "Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers in Organizations Raised Directly by the Confederate Government," available on microfilm as M-258, with reels 116-121 covering the Signal Corps and the Independent Signal Corps. These Compiled Service Records are hereinafter cited as CSR, with the name of the individual concerned.

One incident of his service on the Peninsula made a deep impression in Norris's mind, perhaps more so than the practical field experience he received in helping to pioneer military signal communications. That was the historic battle between the ironclad *Virginia* and the *Monitor*. On March 8, 1862, while Norris and hundreds of others watched, *Virginia* encountered and sank the wooden blockading ships *Cumberland* and *Congress* in Hampton Roads. *Virginia's* captain, Franklin Buchanan, was wounded in that engagement, and turned over his command to Norris's close friend, Lt. Catesby ap Roger Jones, CSN, who led *Virginia* against *Monitor* the next day.¹⁸ In later years Norris was to recall that day in an eyewitness account.

In spite of the novelty of military signaling, Norris was not the only man in the Confederate Army at this time who bore the title "signal officer." But there was, as yet, no officially organized signal corps.¹⁹ There was no precedent in the "old Army" for such an organization, although the Confederate leadership included men intimately familiar with proposals to create such a body. In the decade prior to the war, Albert James Myer (1828–1880), an assistant surgeon in the U.S. Army, had turned an interest in sign language into a proposal for a practical system of military signaling which was to become familiarly known as "wig-wag," from the motions of the flag or torch employed. Senator Jefferson Davis and Colonel R. E. Lee were personally acquainted with the development of the system, and a young lieutenant who assisted Myer in his field trials, Edward Porter Alexander, subsequently resigned his commission and offered his services to the Confederacy.

As Confederate president, Davis ordered Alexander to establish a signal corps.²⁰ Before that could be accomplished, Alexander was ordered to set up a system in the field near Manassas Junction, Virginia, to serve General P. G. T. Beauregard. The crucial part Alexander's signals (and observations) played at First Manassas (July 1861) is a matter of record. Myer's system was given its first battlefield test by his former assistant—on the opposing side—and proved its value. The inventor, appointed the first Signal Officer of the U.S. Army on July 2, 1860, had rushed back to Washington from service in the Southwest, but time and resources prevented him from fielding his system in support of his side in this first consequential clash of arms.²¹

The Myer system, with minor change, became the Confederate signal system. For speed, ease, mobility, and general efficiency, it obviously outweighed less flexible systems such as the one William Norris had employed on the Peninsula.

18. Jones, whose name also bears the distinctive Welsh "ap," was the nephew of Thomas ap Catesby Jones, the Pacific commander of Norris's Forty-Niner days. Young Jones was serving in the Pacific during the same period, and his friendship with Norris may date from that time.

19. Cummins, "Signal Corps;" W. N. M. Otey, "Organizing a Signal Corps," *Confederate Veteran*, 7 (December 1899): 549–51, 8 (March 1900): 129–30, (August 1900): 342–43.

20. OR, ser. 4, 1: 687. See also Edward Porter Alexander, *Military Memoirs of a Confederate* (New York, 1907), *passim*. A recent biography of Alexander is Maury Klein, *Edward Porter Alexander* (Athens, Ga., 1971), although it does not dwell heavily on his involvement in the Signal Corps.

21. See George Raynor Thompson, "Civil War Signals," *Military Affairs*, 8 (Winter 1954): 188–201, and Paul J. Scheips, "Union Signal Communications: Innovation and Conflict," *Civil War History* 9 (December 1963): 399–421. See also Alexander, *Military Memoirs*, p. 31.

Men trained by Alexander in 1861 were subsequently assigned to duty with the departments and major armies in the field, and his brother, Captain James H. Alexander, prepared in 1862 a classified manual of instruction (the world's first signal corps manual, again scooping Myer, whose own manual was two years away).²² But when the choice came of serving behind a desk as chief signal officer of the Confederacy or accepting field duty with the artillery, there was no question in Porter Alexander's mind: he declined the signal corps job.²³

That choice came in the spring of 1862. The Confederate Congress on April 19 authorized the establishment of a signal corps, and on May 29, General Order #40, Adjutant & Inspector General's Office, implemented the act.²⁴ Captain William Norris, one of the officers commissioned under that act, was ordered to duty at Richmond on July 31²⁵ to serve as chief. On October 8, with the modest expansion of the corps, he was promoted to the one-star rank of major, the grade which he was to hold until the last weeks of the war. As the senior officer of the Confederate States Army Signal Corps, his pay was that of a major of infantry—\$150 per month. Norris recalled the challenge of his job in a postwar letter to Jefferson Davis:

Our mode of signalling was discovered just prior to the war and even Gen Alexander of Georgia, whom I succeeded and by whom I was instructed could give me no information as to the efficient organization of the corps.

The track was entirely unbroken, & as yet, there were no lights of experience to illuminate it—I labored zealously to make the corps efficient, useful and respected²⁶

The act of April 19, 1862, placed a ceiling of twenty (ten officers and ten sergeants) on the number of men to comprise the corps. On September 27, 1862, Congress increased the size, allowing one major, ten first and ten second lieutenants, and twenty additional sergeants.²⁷ The corps thus remained throughout the war a small (sixty-one men), select group, filling its vacancies from within its ranks on the basis of seniority. General Order #40 authorized a signal officer for the staff of each general or major general commanding a corps and each major general commanding a division. The signal officer in each division was to instruct the adjutant of each regiment in the signal system. Generals were urged to have their assistant adjutants general, aides-de-camp, or others of their staff so instructed. To assist the small cadre of "professional" signal corps officers and sergeants, privates were detailed to signal corps service as required, some remaining on detail throughout the war and even becoming sergeants. They were administered the oath required of all members of the signal

22. Marshall, "Confederate Army's Signal Corps," p. 69; Brown, *Signal Corps, U.S.A.*, p. 206; OR, ser. 4, 2: 47; Albert J. Myer, *A Manual of Signals: For the Use of Signal Officers in the Field* (Washington, 1864).

23. Alexander, *Military Memoirs*, p. 31.

24. Confederate States Army, Special Orders 40, Adjutant & Inspector General's Office, hereinafter cited as A&IGO. See OR, ser. 4, 1: 1131-32.

25. A&IGO Special Orders 177/VII.

26. Norris Papers.

27. A&IGO General Orders 93. See OR, ser. 4, 2: 198-99.

corps and instructed in its mysteries. When not actually engaged in signaling (or in what became at an early stage an alternative duty, observing the enemy), signal men were available as scouts or couriers, and some came to prefer service behind the enemy lines. It has been estimated that, in all, some 1,500 men were in the signal service in one capacity or another.²⁸

This, then, was the far-flung activity which William Norris headed from the Signal Bureau in Richmond, a semiautonomous office placed under the Adjutant & Inspector General's Office in the War Department. Norris himself, in a "missions and functions" statement, provided an excellent capsule description of its activities:

- (1) management of the entire Signal Corps and cipher system of the Confederate States Army—therein is included also
 - (a) manufacture and collection of all signal apparatus and stores;
 - (b) manufacture, collection and distribution of all cipher apparatus;
- (2) management and supplying of secret lines of communication on the Potomac
- (3) translation of cipher messages received or sent by the War Department, heads of bureaus, or officers of the army
- (4) provide transportation across the Potomac for agents, scouts and others passing from and to Baltimore and Washington
- (5) observing and reporting all movements of the enemy on the Potomac
- (6) procuring files of the latest Northern newspapers for the Executive Department
- (7) obtaining books, "small packages," etc. for heads of bureaus
- (8) forwarding letters from the War or State Department to agents, commissioners, etc. in foreign countries.²⁹

Signals, ciphers, and secret service. These were the elements of Norris's wartime service. His first office was located on Belvin's Block on 14th Street, between Main and Franklin. It was later moved to the south side of Bank Street, midway between 9th and 10th (although there is some evidence that Signal Corps tenancy of the former office was retained).³⁰ The Bank Street location, a two-room office across from the southwest corner of the capitol grounds, opposite the famous old Bell Tower, was occupied for the duration of the war. Located in the heart of Confederate Richmond, it lay between the War Department on 9th Street and the President's office in the former U.S. Customs House at 10th and Main. The mere seven-odd blocks from his office, across the railroad tracks and north to his wartime home on Leigh Street between 9th and 8th³¹ would probably

28. Brown, *Signal Corps, U.S.A.*, Chap. 11. The estimated strength was given by Charles E. Taylor, "The Signal and Secret Service of the Confederate States," *Confederate Veteran* 40 (August–September 1932): 303. Taylor's account, a primary source, continued in the September–October 1932 issue of *Confederate Veteran*, was a reprint from *The North Carolina Booklet* 2 (March 1903), published in Hamlet, N.C. The basis for his estimate is not known; however, my own research, which incorporates the Compiled Service Records in the National Archives, can account for over one thousand members, including Milligan's Independent Signal Corps. Considering the available information, Taylor's estimate appears valid.

29. Cummins, "Signal Corps," pp. 99–100.

30. W. S. Gregory, "The CSA Signal Corps," *Confederate Veteran* 3 (August 1924): 33. See also *Confederate Museum Newsletter* 3 (May 1966): 1.

31. Norris Papers.

have been viewed as quite convenient by Norris; Mr. Davis had to cover almost the same distance to his home.

Fall and winter of 1862–63 were spent by Norris in putting the final touches on his organization. In his January 3, 1863, report to the president, Secretary of War Seddon noted that: "The Signal Corps has been filled and organized and is now in effective operation. It justifies the expectations entertained of its utility and contributes materially to the dispatch of orders, the transmission of intelligence, and the general safety of the Army."³²

The service Norris administered dotted the southern coastline, served armies in the field, and eventually extended to blockade runners at sea. It was a responsibility beyond that of any other officer of like rank, a fact Norris pointed out to Seddon in a letter of July 6, 1863, noting that "everybody else Chiefs of Bureau at the seat of Government are Colonel," and urging that he be made colonel, or at least lieutenant colonel.³³ The one anomaly in Norris's total control was an independent signal corps under an equally independent and strong-minded individual, James F. Milligan. Named, appropriately, the Independent Signal Corps, Milligan's corps held forth along the James and Appomattox Rivers, cooperating with Norris, but staunchly defending its prerogatives from his control.

James F. Milligan seems to have been a rough specimen of that breed of iron seaman which typified the best in U.S. naval tradition. A midshipman in 1846 in the pre-Annapolis days, he saw service in the Mexican War and continued in the navy until 1850, when, frustrated by slow promotions, he resigned to enter the revenue service. On the day Virginia seceded, this Northerner by birth resigned and accepted a commission as lieutenant in the Virginia State Navy. Milligan was captain of the steamer *Empire* in 1861, operating in the Norfolk area, and there he set up a land signal system based on the marine signals then in general use. He transferred to the army in October 1861, was commissioned captain, and made signal officer for the Department of Norfolk. Milligan considered himself senior to Norris in signal experience and rank, and he strongly resented the elevation of Norris as chief of the Signal Corps. After the fall of Norfolk, Milligan made his headquarters at Petersburg. From that point he evidently carried on a running feud with his rival in Richmond.³⁴

It was one of Milligan's officers, Lieutenant R. A. Forbes of the 2nd Company, ISC, who created a minor scandal by bringing formal charges against Major Norris. Forbes accused him of being intoxicated while on a flag-of-truce boat on May 31, 1863, and of revealing to the enemy the signal "alphabet" used by the

32. OR, ser. 4, 2: 289.

33. CSR, William Norris. Concurrently the colonels were pleading to become generals. See letter of October 16, 1862, Col. Gilmer to wife, in James L. Nichols, *Confederate Engineers* (Tuscaloosa, 1957), p. 32.

34. CSR, James F. Milligan; obituary, *Virginian-Pilot*, March 23, 1899; *Register of the Commissioned and Warrant Officers of the Navy of the United States, Including Officers of the Marine Corps, and Others, for the Year 1849* (Washington, 1849), pp. 84–85; John W. H. Porter, *A Record of Events in Norfolk County, Virginia, from April 19th, 1861, to May 10th, 1862* . . . (Portsmouth, 1892), pp. 304–305; *Civil War Naval Chronology* (Washington, Navy Department, n.d.), 6: 204, 224. Milligan was the commanding officer of Sidney Lanier, and the "Major M---" of Lanier's *Tiger Lillies*.

Confederate Signal Corps. A court of inquiry convened on July 29,³⁵ and on August 15 it issued a statement which thoroughly exonerated Norris, finding that the charges had been "loosely made without due care and investigation and should not have been entertained." "The private and official character of Major Norris remain unaffected," the court concluded, while Forbes was "subject to the grave censure of the department."³⁶ At the conclusion of the ordeal, Norris was granted fifteen days leave on August 18. On his recommendation, Lieutenant James Carey served as acting chief.³⁷

Norris was frequently absent from Richmond, but the fragmentary information available gives only hints about the nature and extent of his trips. As early as September 1862 he received a mileage allowance (ten cents a mile) for a trip from Richmond to Charleston, South Carolina, possibly his first official trip to that city. In the spring of 1863 (in addition to the flag-of-truce boat incident), Norris was in and out of Richmond in a peculiar role as escort officer for foreign visitors. He escorted Clement Vallandigham to Wilmington, North Carolina, and a few days later, in June, was traveling companion and guide from Charleston to Richmond for Lieutenant Colonel A. J. L. Fremantle, of the Coldstream Guards.³⁸ (Fremantle and Norris hit it off well. They interrupted their train ride at Wilmington to see Mr. Vallandigham, and Norris spent several days showing Fremantle around Richmond, then took him to Drewry's Bluff, where they toured the batteries and went aboard the ironclad *Richmond*. In his book, *Three Months in the Southern States*, Fremantle praised the hospitality, personality, and good humor of Major Norris, who, interestingly, he identified as chief of the "secret intelligence" service of the Confederacy.) There are grounds for strong suspicion that Norris was also the anonymous and somewhat mysterious major who met and escorted Fitz Gerald Ross from Maryland across the Potomac to Richmond in May, 1863, following the "Underground Railway from Yankeeland to Secessia."³⁹

There are records, too, of other trips, cryptic reminders in the form of forage allowances, special orders, and the like, now preserved in the National Archives.⁴⁰ They tell of frequent trips in June 1863 to Culpeper, to "Headquarters, Army of Northern Virginia," and, in both June and July, to Staunton and Winchester. After the fifteen-day leave which followed his court of inquiry, Norris returned to duty at Richmond in September. A forage order of the following July covers four horses used by him February 18-29, 1864, in a trip to Milford, some twenty miles south of Fredericksburg, in Caroline County, Virginia. There is little else to piece together his activities during this period. (Sometime during the year his fifth child, George Gardner, died at the age of

35. A&IGO Special Orders 176/XVII, July 25, 1863.

36. OR, ser. 1, 28: 1095.

37. A&IGO Special Orders 158/XIV; 196/XX.

38. [A.J.L.] Fremantle, *Three Months in the Southern States, April-June, 1863* (New York, 1864), pp. 198 ff.

39. Fitz Gerald Ross, *Cities and Camps of the Confederate States*, ed. Richard B. Harwell (Urbana, 1958), pp. 9-11, 16n, 17n, and 18-20.

40. CSR, William Norris.

four.) What happened during that winter of 1863–64 would be of interest, for it could shed light on one of the mysteries of Norris's wartime service, Special Order #75.

His frequent trips away from the office may have contributed to the situation which developed, for they permitted the emergence of a contender and led to a breakdown in the Signal Bureau. In his absence in 1863, as noted earlier, Norris had designated Lieutenant Carey, a young man and a fellow Marylander, officer-in-charge, in spite of the fact that a more senior officer, Captain William N. Barker, was on duty at the Bureau. By November, however, Carey had been ordered to Wilmington for field duty,⁴¹ and, in being shifted from headquarters, he cleared the way for Barker.

Unlike the other officers of the corps, Barker was a Northerner, a Pennsylvanian, by birth. He was, nevertheless, an ardent pro-Southerner, and, while employed as a Federal civil servant, he was described by a contemporary as being one of the first three to put on a secession badge in Washington, "with which, in full view, they boldly marched through the Treasury Department," where he worked in the Comptroller's Office.⁴² Soon after the inauguration of Lincoln, Barker took his wife and went south to join the Confederate Army, initially as a first lieutenant in the First Virginia Infantry. The forty-one-year-old Barker was among the trainees of Porter Alexander in July, 1861,⁴³ thus he had a claim for charter membership in the corps, and he was among the first ten captains. Like Norris he was a refugee; like Milligan he came from the North. Unfortunately for Norris, Barker and Milligan got along well together, perhaps both feeling cheated by Norris's rise.

Barker's duties involved supplies, training, verification of orders and requisitions, official correspondence, and other administrative matters. He was first noted as "Captain in charge of the signal corps" in July 1863, during the court of inquiry.⁴⁴ After Carey left Richmond, Barker evidently became more prominent, and the stage was set for trouble.

The nature of that trouble, and how it came about, remains a mystery. A&IGO Special Order #75/XIII of March 30, 1864, simply ordered Norris to Dalton, Georgia, to report to General J. E. Johnston and take charge of his signal service. Since an endorsement for the promotion of a member of the corps, dated April 4, bears his signature, it is probable that Norris did not leave Richmond at once. Then, on April 16, just two and a half weeks after the first order, Special Order 89/III relieved him of duty with the Army of Tennessee and ordered him to proceed with an inspection of the various stations in Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina, after which he was to proceed to Charleston and await further orders. Further orders on August 6, 1864 (SO 185/LVII, A&IGO) directed him to inspect the various signal corps in Alabama, Mississippi, and East Louisiana. It was not until January 21, 1865, that he was ordered (SO 17/XXXVI, A&IGO) to return to Richmond and resume his duties. From April 1864 until February 1865, Norris

41. A&IGO Special Orders 270/XVII.

42. CSR, William Barker.

43. *Ibid.*; see also OR, ser. 4, 1: 687.

44. CSR, William Norris and William Barker.

was absent from Richmond, and in his place was William Barker.

It is difficult, on the basis of the fragmentary evidence now available, to decide whether to mark Barker down as an opportunist who took advantage of the absence of his superior, or as an equally ambitious professional with ideas of his own, who, in single-minded zeal, set out to reorient and reorganize the corps. Immediately upon Norris's departure Barker recommended the appointment to sergeant of Alexander W. Weddell, a clerk in the Bureau—an act which Norris viewed as improperly jumping over more experienced men.⁴⁵ (This same Weddell was to play a key role in an unexplained incident which occurred toward the end of Norris's absence, and which may, in fact, have prompted his return.) In August 1864 Barker proposed to his superiors a full reorganization of the corps, providing for a colonel as chief, a lieutenant colonel for every general, a major for every lieutenant general, and so forth. "The different signal corps," Barker wrote in justification of his proposal, "scattered as they are from the Potomac to the Rio Grande, constitute so many independent commands which require constant attention. Besides this, in the frequent and necessary absence of the chief of corps, he should always be able to leave someone in charge of his Bureau possessing some rank and subject to responsibility," and for this last position he proposed an assistant adjutant general.⁴⁶

But before continuing in an attempt to shed some light on the period of Norris's absence from Richmond, and Barker's stewardship of the Bureau, it is necessary to consider the other side of Norris's wartime service, the aspect which has only been noted in passing, but which could supply the missing links: the Secret Service Bureau. The wartime exiles from Maryland and the District of Columbia may have been the first to explore the possibilities of espionage, perhaps as a natural outgrowth of schemes to maintain contact with relatives and friends left behind. At the same time Porter Alexander was laying the foundation for the Confederate Signal Corps, he was already spending time with that handmaiden of signaling—intelligence. E. Pliny Bryan, "one of the earliest secessionists in the Maryland legislature" and a volunteer private in the First Virginia, offered his services to Alexander, and, with the approval of General Beauregard, was trained in the signal system and sent into Washington to live, equipped to transmit back whatever information he obtained.⁴⁷ Another of Alexander's volunteers, Charles H. Cawood, showed a talent for getting back and forth across the Potomac—the beginning of the "Secret Line."⁴⁸

Shortly after taking over as Chief Signal Officer, William Norris proposed a systematic network into the North. The reply only hints at the scope of his idea:

Adj't & Insp'r Genls Office
Sept 15th 1862

Capt Norris
Chf of Signal Corps
My dear Captain

I have seen the Secy [of War Randolph]. He approved at once of your proposition, but

45. Norris to V. Camalin, February 1865, in Norris Papers.

46. CSR, William Barker.

47. OR, ser. I, 51 (2): 340-41.

48. CSR, Charles H. Cawood.

says that the delay has been occasioned by his being obliged to refer the *Canadian* part of it to the Prest. He wishes you to go on at once with the Baltr & Wash line. Any authority you wish can be had.

Yours . . .

[Jasper S.] Whiting [AAG]⁴⁹

This correspondence marks the official beginning of the Secret Line, an "underground railroad" linking way stations, agents, "safe houses," boatmen, and southern sympathizers, and stretching from the South through Washington, Baltimore, New York, and eventually into Canada, comprising "mainlines" and alternatives. Names famous in Civil War espionage—Thomas Nelson Conrad, James H. Surratt, and Franklin Stringfellow—were to become linked with this operation. What is not generally known is the association of the Secret Line with Norris and the Signal Corps.

The mission of the Secret Line included transporting or escorting agents, scouts, and others (including such foreigners as Fitz Gerald Ross) to and from the North, observing and reporting enemy movements on the Potomac, acting as an official courier service, procuring northern newspapers, carrying letters and dispatches, and obtaining books and other items upon the order of officials in Richmond. In the administration of the Secret Line, William Norris wore a "second hat"—Chief of the Secret Service Bureau. Charles H. Cawood, who had been involved in similar pursuits as early as October 1861 (and gotten himself captured, imprisoned in the Old Capitol, and exchanged), was officer-in-charge on the Potomac, with a commission as Second Lieutenant in the Signal Corps, reporting directly to Norris.⁵⁰

Both wartime and post-war evidence attest to the existence of the Secret Service Bureau. In at least two instances after the war Norris himself affirmed that he had headed that activity. In a letter of December 1866 he stated that "I was Chief of the Signal Corps & Secret Service Bureau of the Confederate States" ⁵¹ and, in a letter of May 1870 to Jefferson Davis, he wrote:

With respect to the Secret Service Department and the very extensive cypher correspondence of the government, conducted through my office, I flatter myself that I gave you entire satisfaction. So far as I know, the confidence in my officers to whom was delegated this important trust, was in no instance misplaced.⁵²

The wartime evidence, while sparse, is conclusive; various documents preserved in the National Archives confirm the existence of the bureau and Norris's association with it. A statement on fuel consumption, dated December 1863, notes that "two fires are in constant use at Signal & Secret Service Bureau" (implying that one office served both functions) and is signed by Norris.⁵³ Special equipment and supply requisitions during 1864, signed by Captain Barker, are

49. Norris Papers.

50. CSR, Charles H. Cawood.

51. Letter of December 14, 1866, Norris to W. D. Henneu(?), the lawyer defending John H. Surratt, in Norris Papers.

52. *Ibid.*

53. CSR, William Barker.

made out for "quartermaster stores for Secret Service Line in Westmoreland Co., Va." (July 29), "courier for Secret Service" (August 4 and 13), and "forage for mules for Secret Service" (August 22), and serve as further examples. For the confirmed skeptic there is even a printed letterhead: "War Department, Secret Service Bureau, Richmond, Va." appears on a letter of February 23, 1864, signed by Norris, which requests a "light spring wagon for the service of the Bureau." And, although no Confederate records use the title, it is significant that Colonel Fremantle identified Norris as "the chief of the secret intelligence bureau at Richmond" and made no reference to Norris's signal corps involvement—seemingly an odd omission on the part of an astute military observer. (On his train trip from Charleston to Richmond with Norris as his traveling companion, Fremantle recalled that: "Major Norris told me many amusing anecdotes connected with the secret intelligence department, and of the numerous ingenious methods for communicating with the Southern partisans on the other side of the Potomac.")⁵⁴

Nothing found to date reveals when and by what authority the Secret Service Bureau was established, unless it was implicit in the original Norris proposal responded to in September 1862 (above). The December 1863 reference cited is the earliest evidence which has been found, although the Fremantle account took place in June 1863. Its activities, at least initially, must have embraced the duties of the Secret Line. Like Alexander, Norris grasped the intelligence implications of the signal corps—signal duty bordered on, or actually involved, functions which would today be considered in the realm of intelligence and counter-intelligence activities, activities such as reconnaissance, surveillance, intercepting enemy communications and deceiving the enemy through false communications, and scouting and maintaining courier lines in enemy territory. And of course the Signal Bureau maintained the secret codes and ciphers which are the traditional trappings of espionage. It would perhaps be more surprising if Norris had not ventured into the clandestine world, given the circumstances. Unlike the Signal Corps, however, there was no companion organization to carry out the secret service activities, no "Secret Service Corps," as it were. Men appointed or detailed to signal duty (such as Cawood) formed the cadre of the service, augmented by volunteers on both sides of the Potomac.⁵⁵

Both Norris and Barker attempted to improve the prestige and efficiency of the secret service activity. They proposed making the chief a full colonel, granting military status to the volunteers employed on the Secret Line, establishing a corps for secret service work, and promoting the men then involved in the service. One request for a minimum of \$200 per month to maintain the "lines across the Potomac" gives an idea of the modest cost of these operations and affords an appreciation of the unpaid volunteers who, according to Captain Barker, "on this

54. Fremantle, *Three Months in Southern States*, p. 202.

55. Canan, "Confederate Military Intelligence," pp. 42-46, discusses the interwoven signal and secret service activities of Norris and Barker under the heading "War Department Espionage." John Bakeless, *Spies of the Confederacy* (Philadelphia, 1970), pp. 6 and 380, takes passing note of Major Norris, in spite of considering the Confederate Signal Corps "essentially an espionage service" (p. 6).

side, as well as the Maryland side, were selected for their known loyalty and devotion to the cause.”⁵⁶

The Secret Service Bureau kept its secrets well. The overlapping signal and secret service activities further obfuscate Norris's tracks. And yet the feeling persists that only the top of the proverbial iceberg has been seen. There were, to be sure, other actual and proposed “secret service” (little “s”) activities in the Confederacy, including an officially organized and designated mine warfare unit and a proposed “Polytechnic Corps.”⁵⁷ Disregarding these, and the “special service” details assigned to individuals by local commanders, there remain some unresolved incidents which, in one way or another, touch on Norris and his men. Consider the following:

(1) The *Alleghanian* affair: The burning and sinking of the *Alleghanian* by a Confederate raiding party under Lieutenant John Taylor Wood in October 1862 resulted in the capture of the pilot employed by the raiders, one Peter W. Smith, who told his captors that “about a fortnight prior to the burning of the *Alleghanian* Lieutenant [Jno. L.] Doggett, of the Signal Corps, called upon him, and read an order to him from the Secretary of War to act as a pilot for a force then organizing in Mathews County.”⁵⁸

(2) The Carey incident in Virginia: Pleasonton's capture in December 1862 of Lieutenant James Carey of the Signal Corps resulted in the disclosure that Carey was “on orders from Richmond directing him to proceed to King George and Westmoreland counties for certain signal properties of the rebels.” In his report, Pleasonton referred to “these spies” and added: “I omitted to mention that Lieutenant Carey, the signal officer captured today, was taken in citizen's dress. I am also informed that the rebels have a uniform for their signal corps. This certainly places Lieutenant Carey in an unpleasant position, and one which should be thoroughly investigated. It certainly looks very suspicious to find one of his corps on this side of the river.”⁵⁹

(3) Canadian operations: James D. Horan's *Confederate Agent* popularized the most audacious and extensive Confederate clandestine operations, those conducted out of Canada by Confederate agents, both civilian and detailed military.⁶⁰ In his book Horan shows a reproduction of a “Confederate decoding machine used by headquarters in Richmond.” The circular device pictured is a cipher disk manufactured on contract to the Signal Bureau by Francis LaBarre of Richmond, and its markings are “C.S.A.” and “S.S.” (Secret Service?). Horan

56. CSR, William Barker. See also the statement by Norris quoted in Taylor (*Confederate Veteran*, 40 [September–October 1932], 339–40).

57. The Secret Service Bureau should not be confused (cf. Philip Van Doren Stern, *Secret Missions of the Civil War* [Chicago, 1959], p. 18) with a “Bureau of Special and Secret Service” proposed under House Bill No. 240, November 30, 1864, reintroduced January 30, 1865, which would have established a Polytechnic Corps—a combination of cloak-and-dagger, commando, and covert research and development organization. Nor should it be confused with the Secret Service Torpedo Company (OR, ser. 4, 3: 177).

58. *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion* (Washington, 1894–1922), ser. 1, 8: 165–67.

59. OR, ser. 1, 21: 841 and OR, ser 2, 5: 286. Carey was from Baltimore.

60. James D. Horan, *Confederate Agent* (New York, 1954). The cipher disk is shown on p. 74; Norris's order (signed by Alex. W. Weddell) is shown on p. 72.

also reproduces an order from Norris to Barker to instruct the holder of the device, Captain Thomas H. Hines, in the use of the cipher. Hines, the hero of Horan's book, was one of the key figures in the Canadian operations. Another member of the Signal Corps, the famous scout Franklin Stringfellow, later recalled that he had been offered—and passed up—the mission which led to the execution of John Yates Beall.⁶¹ Finally, John H. Surratt, whose mysterious comings and goings as a Confederate courier figured in the trial in which his mother was sentenced and hanged—Surratt traveled under Norris's orders.⁶²

(4) Military intelligence: The apparatus headed by Norris provided access to a variety of sources of information about the enemy—signal corps posts in the field, telegraph operators and wire-tappers, line-crossing couriers, northern newspapers, southern sympathizers, agents. Norris passed the information gained to his superiors and to commanders in the field, and his reports (generally raw, unevaluated information, at times little more than rumor) may be found scattered about in the *Official Records*.⁶³ In this capacity, perhaps more than in any other, Norris's signal and secret service roles merged.⁶⁴

When Major Norris was ordered to report to General Johnston in Georgia, it was, therefore, both the Chief Signal Officer and the Chief of the Secret Service Bureau who was being sent from Richmond to the field. No explanation for the move has been found. It could have been punitive⁶⁵—to go West was to go to Siberia for other officers—and yet there is no evidence of official disfavor. The countermanding of the original order and the orders to “inspect things and await orders” appear a lame bureaucratic device to keep someone out on a limb, and yet the Inspector General of Field Transportation, Major A. H. Cole, was absent from Richmond on a lengthy tour of inspection during the same period (April–December 1864).⁶⁶ After all, Norris had not previously visited his signal empire. Barker's status was unclear—even he had problems deciding whether to style himself chief, acting chief, or simply “in charge.” There were no published orders relieving Norris, or designating Barker, and when Norris was summoned back to Richmond his orders were to “return.”

Norris appears to have left Richmond in early April 1864. He was to have inspected posts in Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina, then to proceed to Charleston. During the next three months he was in North and South Carolina and in Georgia. On July 5 he was in Wilmington seeing off J. R. Thompson, who

61. The Rev. Franklin Stringfellow to Jefferson Davis, 1880, Franklin Stringfellow Papers, University of Virginia Library.

62. See citation in note 51. See also Helen Jones Campbell, *Confederate Courier* (New York, 1864), pp. 41 and 43.

63. See, for example, OR, ser. 1, 51 (2): 873. In addition to OR, see also Clifford Dowdey and Louis H. Manarin, *The Wartime Papers of R. E. Lee* (New York, 1961), pp. 440–41 and 692, in which Lee (who acted as his own “G-2”) dryly discounts two such reports forwarded by Norris.

64. While Fremantle referred to Norris as chief of the secret intelligence department, in Confederate records he is identified simply as “Major Norris of the Signal Corps.”

65. This view is taken by Canan, “Confederate Military Intelligence,” p. 45, but I find the evidence inadequate to justify such a conclusion.

66. Cole was absent from around April to October, with an “acting” chief back in Richmond. See Henry Putney Beers, *Guide to the Archives of the Government of the Confederate States of America* (Washington, 1968), p. 163.

was bound for London.⁶⁷ He left Raleigh on July 14 with train tickets to Wilmington, Florence, and Charleston. On July 29 he was on the railroad from Macon to Columbus, heading west. Orders of August extended his inspection into Alabama, Mississippi, and East Louisiana. Sometime in 1864, possibly that fall, he may have moved his family to North Carolina. He rented the house of a Major A. M. Lewis in Raleigh (along with a house servant, Hannah), according to rent receipts for September and November through January. Medical bills covering July through October attest to sickness in the family—prescriptions for nine days in September alone totaled \$155—but do not indicate whose.⁶⁸

Twenty years later, a "letter to the editor" of the *Charleston News and Courier* recalled "Col. Wm. Norris of Baltimore—a name well remembered by all who helped to defend our city in the terrible siege and bombardment." The writer went on to say that "Col. Norris was for a long time stationed in Charleston, often making his headquarters of St. Michael's steeple, in spite of the shells so persistently aimed at it and whistling around it. Col. Norris is a brother-in-law of our loved and respected fellow-citizen, the late Col. Peter Della Torre. . . ." ⁶⁹

In mid-November Norris made a trip by train from Danville to Richmond, purpose unknown. Then, on January 21, 1865, he was ordered to return to Richmond and resume his duties.

For the period of these ten or eleven months, William N. Barker ran the Richmond Bureau in Norris's absence. Retaining his grade of captain, Barker was referred to variously as "in charge," "Chief of Signals," "Chief of Signal Bureau," and "acting chief." In the capacity of chief he was even consulted in a proposed redesigning of the Confederate flag.⁷⁰ It appears, however, that "acting chief" was the proper title, and that Norris never officially relinquished the post.⁷¹ Barker's proposals to reorganize both the signal corps and the secret service could be considered presumptuous for an acting chief, but there is no evidence that they were other than genuine attempts at improvement.⁷² Barker's relationship with Major Milligan of the Independent Signal Corps was, unlike that of Norris, a cordial one, and during his tenure all was sweetness with the ISC.⁷³ But something happened during those months; something caused the recalling of Norris. In his judgment the Bureau sank to an all-time low. The reasons, although not clear, are hinted at in a letter Norris wrote to a subordinate (and fellow Marylander), V. Camalin, upon his return to Richmond:

I wish you would read the enclosed correspondence. [Not found.] A lie circulated by that dirty ingrate & hypocrite [Alexander W.] Weddell is pretty effectually nailed to the

67. Diary of J. R. Thompson, University of Virginia Library, entry for July 5, 1864.

68. Dates and places established by materials in Norris Papers and CSR, William Norris.

69. *Charleston News and Courier*, 22 January 1884. Clipping in Norris Papers.

70. *Richmond Whig*, 14 February 1865. Captain R. E. Wilbourn, chief signal officer to Jackson and later to Early, was also consulted.

71. Beers, *Guide*, p. 152, accepts Barker as chief in 1864; however, the *Richmond Whig*, 14 February 1865, says "acting chief." Correspondence originated by and addressed to Barker during this period also varies in the title used, but I have found no record of official action which accords him the title of chief.

72. OR, ser. 4, 3: 577-78 is an example.

73. OR, ser. 1, 42 (1): 868.

counter—I have had thoughts (believing that he never heard any such thing) of having the truth flogged out of him by a court martial: forcing the name of the author out of his “own bosom” by the fear of hand cuffs & Castle Thunder—but I have such contempt for the sulker that I will not dirty my fingers with him—Observe the flippant insolence of his endorsement—and its falsity too. For although the ungrateful creature cares nothing about the man from whom he had received nothing but curtesies & favors, yet he *does* care very much about the existence of the Signal Corps. Should it be broken up the self styled “adjutant” would have to take a musket & be a man & if the story of his *own* friends be true, as to the remarkable “time” he made to the rear in an engagement with the Yankees, *nothing* would give him such a fit of the shudders. The “adjutant” does not appreciate properly his good luck in getting a Sergeant’s commission.

It was a shameful outrage [on the part of Barker] to put this clerk of a few weeks over the heads of men who have done gallant service at the front for years, and who was the very laziest & most worthless clerk I have ever had about the office. In another week I would have shipped him—And thus would have eased the Corps the disgrace of being rebuked by the President’s order for neglecting the only duty ever required or ever *done*—the translating cypher Dispatches. If you want to enjoy a farce, read—the order & Letterbook of the party who have brought the Corps into such complete disgrace with the Government. Mr. [Burton N.] Harrison told the Prest, in the presence of the Secy of War, that the Corps had “become absolutely worthless” & the Sec’y assented—The “adjutant” (who knows perfectly well that Barker had no more authority to give him such a title than you had) sometimes verges on the sublime—“My connection with this Bureau ceases this day” he writes to Dr. P.—Magnificent announcement!!! He ought to have said that he had sneaked into a position bombproof, the ([word not clear]) of which were the merest farce & humbug. Mark him soon it will be *proved*.

The “adjutant” is evidently ashamed of his Sergeant’s place—He ought to thank his stars every time that his carcass (the body of a bullock & the head of the pig) is safe from Yankee bullets. Miserable creature. Place him in your estimation where this correspondence fixes him.

Return the papers
& believe me very truly
William Norris⁷⁴

The implication that the Bureau fell apart in Norris’s absence cannot be substantiated from other evidence. Charles Elisha Taylor, a detailed private working in the Bureau during this time, and the only one to write about the activity, omits any indications of discord. Postwar relations between Norris and Jefferson Davis were so close that, whatever happened, it can not have been a personal slur on Norris. But both Barker and Weddell are heard from no more in

74. Norris to V. Camalin, February 10, 1865, Norris Papers. This letter also reveals Norris’s disposition when aroused, and his “way with words.” In the heat of the moment, however, he may have been unduly harsh with Weddell, whatever he felt to be the justification. Alexander Watson Weddell, a former Captain of Company G, 41st Virginia Infantry, had been disabled by wounds in the field and was appointed signal sergeant on June 22, 1864, to take rank May 6, 1864. After the war Weddell entered the Episcopal ministry and served as rector of historic St. John’s Church, Richmond, circa 1875–1883. He is buried there (CSR, Alex. W. Weddell; Grace E. S. Taliaferro, *A Story of St. John’s Church, Henrico Parish—In Virginia, 1607–1964* [Richmond, Va., 1968]). His son is remembered in Richmond as a patron of the arts and benefactor, after distinguished service as an ambassador.

Signal Corps happenings. Some adjustments in the conduct of secret service activities may have taken place in the winter of 1864–65, either an assumption by the State Department of the Secret Service Bureau's involvements or an expansion of existing sub rosa State Department activities.⁷⁵ People employed on a section of the Secret Line run by Sergeant H. H. Brogden of the Signal Corps, and engaged in running a boat across the Potomac for secret service activities, reported to the State Department rather than Norris's office in the early part of 1865.⁷⁶ The general disintegration toward the end might also have been felt. Two cases of security leaks came up, one involving the disclosure of the cipher key and the unauthorized reading of War Department cipher messages by civilian telegraph operators, and the other involving the disclosure that the State Department employed a boat crossing the Potomac on secret service activities. Members of the Signal Corps were cleared on both counts, but the mere accusations may have reflected that loss of prestige which Norris addressed in his letter above.⁷⁷

By March 1865 the Bureau comprised Norris, Lieutenant Schley (another Marylander), Sergeant Gresham, and Private Taylor.⁷⁸ On March 24, 1865, Norris processed the last order for northern publications—some Engineer Corps manuals requested by the Confederate Engineer Bureau.⁷⁹ Nine days later there was hasty packing and destruction of records as the evacuation of Richmond began.

Major Norris traveled southward with the presidential party, accompanied by Private Taylor of the Signal Corps and two telegraphers.⁸⁰ General Lee's surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia on April 9 caused the group to press on to North Carolina. There, the day before Johnston's surrender on April 26, William Norris finally achieved the colonelcy so long denied him. But it did not come in the post to which he had devoted his wartime service; rather, it was as Commissioner of Exchange (responsible for prisoners of war) replacing Colonel Robert Ould that Norris finally put on the three stars of colonel.⁸¹ The next day, April 26, William Barker was signing the oath of allegiance to the United States at Burksville, Virginia.⁸²

75. When Thomas H. Hines was sent to Canada in March 1864 it was on orders of Secretary of War Seddon; but when he was sent back again in December 1864, it was on orders of Secretary of State Benjamin (Horan, *Confederate Agent*, pp. 72–73, 233).

76. Norris to Secretary of State Judah P. Benjamin, March 7, 1865, inclosing the results of a security investigation concerning the "secret service of the State Department" (Ryder Collection, Tufts University Library).

77. *Ibid.*; see also Confidential Circular of March 16, 1865 (copy in Norris Papers) and J. Cutler Andrews, "The Southern Telegraph Company, . . ." *Journal of Southern History*, 30 (August 1964): 342.

78. These were certified by Norris to comprise the bureau staff at the time of the investigation of a leak (see footnote 76).

79. Norris Papers. The notation that this was the last order processed is in Norris's own hand.

80. Taylor, "Signal and Secret Service," 338–39; Norris Papers.

81. Norris Papers. Norris preserved the notification of his appointment, by order of Secretary of War Breckinridge, at Charlotte, N.C. While his claim to have attained the rank of colonel was honored by Davis and Norris's associates, as well as Union authorities, it of course was not acted on by the Senate, given the circumstances of the time.

82. CSR, William Barker.

A little more than a week later, Colonel Norris was in Union hands. Questions were raised about his credentials and the position he held. Then instructions were passed to have him held and his papers thoroughly examined, and, finally, to arrest him and send him to the Provost Marshal in Richmond, for there had been rumors that he had in his possession money belonging to Union prisoners. In some desperation (Mrs. Norris was well along in her sixth pregnancy) Norris wrote on June 6 to his counterpart and wartime associate, U.S. Brigadier General John E. Mulford, Commissioner of Exchange in Richmond. He explained that he was in Raleigh on parole (suggesting that his family may have remained there in January) and that he wished to come to Richmond, or, if that were not possible, to send his wife and children to the North.⁸³ By the end of the month Norris had cleared himself of the charges. General Mulford personally vouched for his status, as Norris appeared before him on June 22, 1865, "still wearing my uniform and sword," in Richmond (thereby doubtless making Norris the last Confederate Army officer still on active duty).⁸⁴ On June 30 he stood before Lieutenant Colonel Albert Ordway, 24th Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, and the Provost Marshal in Richmond, and signed the slip of paper: "I, William Norris, do solemnly swear, (or affirm,) in the presence of ALMIGHTY GOD, that I will henceforth faithfully support, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States and the Union of the States thereunder..."⁸⁵ Characteristically, Norris's signature was large and bold, a John Hancock: "allegiance, yes, but no regrets." That day he and his family sailed for New York. The war was over.

Like so many of his generation who survived that war, Norris found the peace which followed unendurable. His health was poor, as was his wife's. Money faithfully invested in Confederate bonds and in blockade runner shares ("Old Dominion Trading Company") was lost. They returned to *Brookland* near Reisterstown, and there in September 1865 their sixth child, a third son, was born. Reflecting the father's admiration and affection for his wartime chief, the boy was named Jefferson Davis Norris. A fourth son was born the following year. His name too recalled a friendship of long standing: William Catesby Norris, named for Catesby ap Roger Jones.⁸⁶

During the winter of 1865–66, Norris made plans to go to Chile and enter the army there, with the rank of colonel, to introduce the Confederate system of signals. He explained to former private Charles E. Taylor in a letter of January 29, 1866, that he was attempting to locate copies of "our Confidential circulars" and special signal apparatus, and concluded his letter:

I am less & less satisfied & more & more loathe the Yankees—Expect to go in a short time to Chile where I will enter the army with my present rank (col) and introduce our

83. Norris Papers, and OR, ser. 2, 8: 643. As a captain, 3rd NYV, Mulford had been the officer-in-charge of the flag-of-truce boat in the James River off City Point, and had associated with Norris at that time.

84. Notation by Norris in Norris Papers. Galveston surrendered on June 2, 1865, and is generally considered to represent the last Confederate Army position.

85. Copy in Norris Papers; see also CSR, William Norris.

86. Mentioned in various letters of the period, Norris Papers.

system of signals—At the first, the very first fire of the gun which begins our next fight, & (every sign tells that the day is not very distant) I will be back again and how infinitely harder I will struggle next time—*Infinitely* better for us *all* to die than live in social or political union with the wretches. . . .⁸⁷

On December 14, 1866, Norris risked the little he had left in a letter to the lawyer defending John H. Surratt from complicity in the Lincoln assassination. Unsolicited, the act was characteristic of the man. He stated: "I was Chief of the Signal Corps & Secret Service Bureau of the Confederate States & am acquainted with the antecedents of John H. Surratt. He frequently forwarded important military intelligence (in cypher) from our friends in Washington and assisted our messengers in passing to & fro between Richmond & the Northern Cities."⁸⁸ Norris went on to absolve Surratt of any involvement and offered to testify in his behalf if required.

In 1870 what appeared to be an opportunity for a new start was offered when, in March, he was contacted with a proposition to go to Egypt and resume his military career as a signal officer, along with other veterans of the war, northern and southern. He eagerly accepted, and sought letters of recommendation from his friends, among them Jefferson Davis. Davis provided the letter:

I offer to you my parting salutation and avail of the occasion to express the high opinion I have ever entertained of your zeal and capacity as chief of the signal corps of the Confederate States. Though communicating by signal and in cypher is as old as the time of Polybius its application to military correspondence and message on the field of battle had been so little systematized and developed when you were put on charge of the Confederate Signal Corps, that the art might for practical purposes be regarded as a new one. By judicious arrangement and administration it attained to high efficiency and to you largely belongs the credit for that result. . . .⁸⁹

But Davis also wrote a parallel letter on the same date, expressing his personal feelings in the matter:

Memphis T[enn]
15th June 70

Dear Col. Norris,

I have written as you wished and enclosed the letter to Com. Catesby ap R. Jones. The present condition of our country is sad enough to make any one of us wish to leave it: but there is virtue and manhood in the country, which may at an hour when not expected restore it to its liberties, and right whatever is remediable.

The women of the South have never faltered, their children will rise up to show how worthy their mothers were. This may not be in our day, it can hardly be in mine, but if lingering here we can hasten the coming of the day of deliverance, is it not well to watch and wait? You will perceive that while I have written as in duty bound a letter to serve your Egyptian views, it has been done despite my wish that you would not go.

I shall be expectant of the Photograph of my namesake and hope during the summer to

87. Charles E. Taylor Papers, University of Virginia Library (by permission).

88. Norris Papers (see citation in footnote 51).

89. Copy in Norris Papers.

see him and his Mother, and then to join them in an argument against your leaving a people who love you, and whom you can trust at least further than any others.

I regretted very much your absence when in Baltimore last fall. Please present me affectionately to Mrs. Norris and Master Jefferson and believe me ever faithfully

Your friend
Jefferson Davis⁹⁰

As the weeks passed the tension—born of waiting for word and the tug of Davis's plea—must have increased for Norris. A note of pathos, perhaps even of desperation, creeps into a letter of July 6, 1870: "I have been very desirous of going for my reason & judgment have been drowned in a flood of superstitious sentiment that this was to have been my 'Tide which taken &c &c' & which since the war has been running strong ebb." A few days later he was notified that instructions had been received from Egypt not to send any more officers without specific orders, "not even Norris." That was perhaps the closest Norris came to joining what amounted to the first military assistance advisory group from the United States—former enemies who went to serve the Khedive.⁹¹ Although the subject persisted in his correspondence into October, Norris must have lost hope, if not interest, in the enterprise. Nevertheless, as late as 1875, hearing that General Joseph E. Johnston was going to Egypt, Norris dashed off a letter saying that he, too, would like to go, but Johnston's response squelched the rumor and dashed any remaining hope.

There is little to shed light on Norris's later years. In 1874 his eyewitness account of the *Monitor* and *Merrimac* battle was published in the *Southern Magazine*.⁹² In 1885 he was presenting lectures in the area, but his subject is unknown. One elderly resident of a nearby town recalled that an annual event at the Norris home was the gathering of the old veterans from the Confederate Soldiers' Home in nearby Pikesville and the tapping of a barrel of fine Maryland rye.⁹³ The next morning, according to this informant, the roadway back to the soldiers' home would be dotted with stragglers who could not make it back. (The same old gentleman recalled a confirmation at All Saints Episcopal Church, Reisterstown, and his surprise at seeing among the well-scrubbed young faces, one white-haired old man, proud and erect—"Colonel Norris." The story may be apocryphal, but it sounds in character.)

The war must never have gone far from his mind. In a letter of April 14, 1885, a former associate (Camalin, to whom Norris had vented his wrath over Weddell and Barker) relived the days at the Signal Bureau and concluded, "Can we not take charge of the U.S. Signal Bureau? Or some other Department?" This, to the old major, now in his sixties.⁹⁴

90. Original in possession of a granddaughter of William Norris, and loaned to the writer.

91. An account of this first American "Military Assistance Advisory Group" is William B. Hesseltine and Hazel C. Wolf, *The Blue and Gray on the Nile* (Chicago, 1961).

92. Supplement to *The Southern Magazine* (15 [1874]: 175-86) containing the report of The Southern Historical Society. Norris's "The 'Virginia' and the 'Monitor'" comprises a lengthy response to an article of June 13, 1874, in the *Army and Navy Journal*.

93. Interview of Mr. William D. Groff of Owings Mill, Maryland, near Reisterstown, June 11, 1966, by the writer.

94. Norris Papers.

In 1890 fire destroyed the Norris home. Both the Colonel and Mrs. Norris were sick at the time, but were safely removed. The bulk of Norris's remaining papers and memorabilia, the sword still worn proudly two months after Lee's surrender—these, and perhaps history's best chance to learn firsthand the details of the "Signal and Secret Service Bureau" of the Confederacy, were lost in that fire. In November 1895 he turned over some remaining naval papers to the War Records Office, leaving only a few personal papers.⁹⁵

The end came swiftly, a few weeks after his seventy-sixth birthday. On December 29, 1896, Norris was standing in the yard at *Brookland*, watching some workmen, when he suffered a stroke. He was unconscious when they raised him up, and he died before medical assistance could be rendered.⁹⁶ Last surviving member of the Yale Class of 1840, lawyer, member of the Maryland Society of California Pioneers, eyewitness to the *Virginia* and the *Monitor*, Chief of the Signal Corps and the Secret Service Bureau of the Confederate States, colonel and Commissioner of Prisoner Exchange, friend of Davis, Beauregard and Johnston, William Norris was laid to rest in the quiet churchyard of All Saints in Reisterstown, Maryland, and forgotten by the South he loved and served and by his native state. Surely he deserved better.

95. *Baltimore Sun*, 30 December 1896.

96. *Ibid.*

The Depression in Maryland: The Failure of Voluntarism

CHARLES M. KIMBERLY

ON OCTOBER 24, 1929—"BLACK THURSDAY"—A RECORD 13 MILLION SHARES were sold on the New York Stock Exchange and prices dropped further than ever before in the history of the exchange. The Great Crash had occurred, signaling the beginning of the Great Depression.¹ During the first few months following the stock market crash Maryland businessmen, like their counterparts elsewhere in the nation, repeatedly expressed their confidence that the fundamental structure of the economy remained sound and that the business slump would soon end. Private charity and balanced state budgets represented, they believed, the appropriate response to the problem. Within two years events would force business and government officials to accept federal aid, but at first they preferred to wait for a "natural" cure. In its monthly journal, *Baltimore*, the Baltimore Association of Commerce tried to maintain an attitude of cheerful optimism despite the continuing collapse of the economy. "Industry as a whole is in good shape," the association reported in its April 1930 summary of economic conditions in Maryland. "Good shape" in this case described a local economy in which production of machinery was running at 80 per cent of the normal level, men's clothing at 70 per cent, and petroleum products at 60 to 70 per cent.² In September the association reported that conditions were "hopeful." But it went on to report that the wholesale market was spotty, that retail trade was generally down, and that many canneries had been forced to close because of the drought that had ruined farm crops that summer.³

In February of 1931 a special census taken by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company set the unemployment rate in Baltimore at 19.2 per cent.⁴ In April the Association of Commerce looked into the future to see what lay "around the corner." It saw a spurt in business lasting at least through the summer. Large government appropriations for construction work and passage of the bill giving bonuses to World War I veterans would provide the stimulus for the spurt. Prices had hit rock-bottom, the association maintained, and retail sales were about to pick up because the buying public knew a bargain when it saw one.⁵ That month

Mr. Charles M. Kimberly is a part-time instructor of history at Northern Virginia Community College.

1. *New York Times*, October 25, 1929.

2. "Business Conditions in Baltimore Area," *Baltimore*, 23 (April 1930): 9.

3. "Business Conditions in Baltimore Area," *ibid.*, (September 1930): 9.

4. "Baltimore Less Hurt," *ibid.*, 24 (February 1931): 43.

5. "Business Going Ahead," *ibid.*, (April 1931): 41.

the index for employment in Maryland factories stood at 93.1. It had been at 129.3 five years earlier. In July it slid to 87.9, in December to 80.5. It continued to drop steadily until it reached 64.2 in March of 1933.⁶

Maryland's governor during those difficult years was Albert C. Ritchie. By 1930, when he won election to his fourth consecutive term as governor, Ritchie had become something of a political fixture in the state. His political career had begun during the Progressive Era. In 1912 he gained wide public renown as Assistant General Counsel for the Public Service Commission of Maryland when he successfully prosecuted a case against the Gas and Electric Company of Baltimore. The case resulted in a savings of \$500,000 to the city's consumers and gave Ritchie a reputation as the champion of the "little man," despite his aristocratic family background and manner. Ritchie was first elected governor in 1919, winning the election by only 165 votes. Once in office, however, he gained control of the state Democratic organization and became very popular with the voters of Baltimore City, partly because of his strong stand against prohibition. He was re-elected in 1923, 1926, and 1930 by sizeable majorities.⁷

Ritchie was a stalwart opponent of federal intervention in local affairs. In his political speeches he lashed out at federal programs that offered funds to the states but attached conditions that gave the federal government control over the way in which the funds were spent. That practice, he asserted, was an insidious device for encroaching upon the constitutional rights of the states.⁸ Ritchie's stand against prohibition was couched in terms of opposing the spread of governmental power. He objected to a government that tried to regulate the life of its citizens. He claimed that the twentieth century American was a victim of governmental dictatorship wherever he looked. "Here he is told what he may eat, there what he may smoke, and everywhere what he may drink," Ritchie complained.⁹

The increasingly serious unemployment following the Crash posed a difficult philosophical problem for Ritchie. He abhorred the thought of governmental intervention in the realm of social welfare or in the economy. Yet he recognized the ultimate responsibility of the government for the well-being of its citizens. The unemployment crisis had to be ended—preferably, he thought, by programs originating from the business community itself. Ritchie was attracted to company-sponsored unemployment insurance plans. He tried to impress upon businessmen the urgency of accepting those plans as an alternative to governmental action. Ritchie warned businessmen that the nation was at a crossroads. Along one road lay "the opportunity for initiative and constructive effort on the part of American business to discharge its responsibilities to the labor whose toil

6. Maryland, Commissioner of Labor and Statistics, *Forty-Second Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor and Statistics, 1933* (Baltimore, 1934), p. 52.

7. James B. Levin, "Albert C. Ritchie, A Political Biography" (Ph.D. dissertation, City University of New York, 1970), pp. 25-39, 71-86.

8. Albert C. Ritchie, "The 'Fifty-Fifty' System of Federal Aid, Why It Should be Stopped," address to the 17th annual conference of governors, June 30, 1925, in the Library of Congress.

9. Albert C. Ritchie, "Which Shall it be, A Government of Law or a Government of Men," Pamphlet no. 208 in "Pamphlets on Prohibition in the United States, No. 193-225," in the Library of Congress, p. 10.

and sweat in the shops is as essential as the brains and directing hand at the desk." Along the other road lay "the ultimate certainty of legislation which may prove hurtful to business itself and to the community, a drain on the public treasury, and a departure from American institutions."¹⁰

Ritchie did not envision an active role for the state government in dealing with the problems caused by widespread unemployment. Had he wanted the state to play such a role it would have been necessary for him to create an organization to handle such matters. The Maryland state government in 1930 had no office or department prepared to deal with unemployment and relief problems. The Board of State Aid and Charities was responsible for matters that would today come under the heading of social welfare. Its duties, however, were largely advisory and inspectional. State assistance to the poor and aged came through legislative appropriations to private charitable organizations. The board's principal function was to receive applications for state assistance from private institutions and recommend to the legislature how much assistance each institution should receive.¹¹

With the onset of the Depression the social welfare organizations receiving state support expanded their services as much as they could. The Veterans' Relief Commission spent its entire annual allotment of \$50,000 for the first time in 1930 and in addition used up part of its unexpended funds from the preceding two years.¹² Its annual allotment was raised to \$60,000 by the 1931 state legislature, which also gave the commission emergency funds of \$15,000 for 1932 and \$10,000 for 1933.¹³ The Maryland Children's Aid Society provided emergency relief in several counties after 1930, in addition to carrying out its regular child-care program.¹⁴ To create more state jobs for construction workers, Governor Ritchie in 1930 directed state officials to begin all planned construction and maintenance projects as soon as possible. By November of 1930 there were 1,750 more men working on state highway and public works projects than in the preceding year.¹⁵

Beyond these limited efforts, the state government did little to deal with the unemployment and relief problems. When the state legislature met in January 1931 for its biennial session, Ritchie presented a program that stressed the need for stringent economy in government. In preparing the budget it was necessary, he told the legislators, to plan upon leaving a larger balance in the state treasury than had been the practice in the past because of the possibility that actual revenues might fall short of the estimated revenues. About all that the state

10. Albert C. Ritchie, "Unemployment Relief—If Business will do nothing about it, Government will," address to the Virginia Bar Association, July 30, 1931, Box 8006 (12), Governor Albert C. Ritchie Executive Papers, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland. (Hereafter cited as Ritchie Executive Papers.)

11. *Maryland Manual: A Compendium of Legal, Historical and Statistical Information Relating to the State of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1931), p. 44.

12. Albert C. Ritchie to Milton A. Reckord, August 12, 1930, Box 8006 (18), Ritchie Executive Papers.

13. *Maryland Manual*, 1932, p. 39.

14. Douglas Gorman to Albert C. Ritchie, July 23, 1932; and Walter N. Kirkman to Albert C. Ritchie, August 6, 1932, Box 8006 (9), Ritchie Executive Papers.

15. *Baltimore Sun*, December 7, 1930.

could do to combat the unemployment problem, Ritchie asserted, was to undertake all feasible public works projects. That had been state policy for some time, he said, and all authorized state construction work was either finished or under way.¹⁶ Most of the state legislators shared Ritchie's view that the responsibility for providing relief for the unemployed rested with local charitable organizations—that was still common wisdom in most of the nation in 1931¹⁷—and the legislature did not spend much time considering any program to care for the unemployed.

The state government's limited efforts at dealing with the problems caused by increasing unemployment were matched by similarly limited efforts by local governments. The city of Baltimore, whose 800,000 citizens made up half of Maryland's population in 1930, was more seriously affected by the crisis than most other areas in the state. The city administration's only solution to the problem was to set up an agency to help people look for jobs. In May of 1930 Mayor William F. Broening announced the establishment of the Commission on Employment Stabilization. One of the commission's first actions was to distribute an "emergency code of employment practice" to local businesses and industries. The code suggested methods by which the companies could help alleviate unemployment. These included giving preference to family heads in hiring, reducing the number of working hours per employee rather than laying off some of them, and creating jobs by doing painting, repair, and renovation work that might ordinarily be postponed. In December of 1930 the commission established the Municipal Free Employment Service. In its first eight months of operation the employment service registered 7,713 job seekers. It managed to find work for about one-fifth of them.¹⁸

These efforts proved to be ineffective in stemming the spread of unemployment. Many of the unemployed soon used up their meager resources and were forced to go to charitable organizations for help. Baltimore's relief problems had traditionally been handled by four agencies—the Family Welfare Association, the Bureau of Catholic Charities, the Jewish Social Service Bureau, and the Salvation Army. Of these agencies the Family Welfare Association handled about 80 per cent of the city's relief cases.¹⁹ The Family Welfare Association was not prepared for the large influx of relief applications that came during the winter of 1930–31. That winter the association was asked to aid five times as many families each month as it had helped in an entire year in normal times. For ten days in October it was forced to turn away all new applicants because it did not have enough money to give them assistance. The increasing demand for relief forced the relief agencies to appeal to the municipal government for financial aid. The municipal government allocated \$8,900 to the Family Welfare Association

16. Maryland, Secretary of State, *Message of Governor Albert C. Ritchie to the General Assembly of Maryland of 1931* (Baltimore, 1931), pp. 1, 61–2.

17. For responses to the unemployment crisis in other states see James T. Patterson, *The New Deal and the States: Federalism in Transition* (Princeton, 1969), pp. 30–1.

18. *Report of the Municipal Commission on Employment Stabilization and the Municipal Free Employment Service* (n.p., 1931), pp. 2–3, 10.

19. Anna D. Ward, ed., "Relief Bulletin," No. 1, February 3, 1936, p. 1, mimeographed bulletin in "Social Welfare, Baltimore," in Vertical File, Maryland Room, Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore, Maryland.

and \$3,900 to the Jewish Social Service Bureau, thus enabling those agencies to meet their expenses, but it did so only after a long delay that expressed the city officials' reluctance to take such a step.²⁰ To relieve the strain on the welfare agencies the police department unofficially assumed the burden of providing relief to the needy. In December Police Commissioner Charles Gaither announced that the department would accept monetary donations and gifts in kind to help the needy. By mid-February the police had given food and fuel to 7,500 families and had fed 6,600 persons at the station houses.²¹

By January of 1931, 42,000 of the city's workers—one out of eight—were unemployed. Nineteen bread lines were in operation. There were 2,750 families receiving aid from the relief agencies. Within two months a thousand more families were added to the relief rolls.²² The relief agencies again used up all available funds. In February the Baltimore Association of Commerce organized a Citizens' Emergency Relief Committee to operate a drive in hopes of collecting enough money to enable the agencies to meet relief demands. Mayor Broening started off the drive by contributing \$50,000 from the city's contingency fund. He also agreed to supply trucks and warehouses to assist the agencies in handling contributions of food and clothing. The drive culminated with "Self-Denial Day" on Good Friday, March 27. In keeping with the Lenten season citizens were asked to deny themselves a desired item and use the money instead as a contribution to the needy. Ballot boxes were set out in stores, movies, library branches, and on street corners. At noon church bells rang and firehouse whistles sounded as a signal for people to drop their contributions into the ballot boxes. The ballot boxes yielded \$90,000 and the relief campaign brought in a total of \$669,000; enough, it was hoped, to carry the relief agencies through the year.²³

In May Baltimore's voters elected a new mayor, Howard W. Jackson, "a businessman's businessman." Like Ritchie, Jackson was an economy-minded man whose business-like qualities were those of the accountant rather than the entrepreneur. His main business was politics. He had worked his way up through the Baltimore Democratic Party's system of ward politics and had previously served a term as mayor from 1923 to 1927.²⁴ Jackson promised the citizens of Baltimore that the municipal government would do all it could to provide employment and relieve distress. When the existing agencies become overburdened, he said, the city must be ready to help. But he also informed the citizens that the times demanded that the city conserve its resources and make no expenditures unless absolutely necessary. "I shall advise all department heads that rigid economy must be practiced from today," he vowed, "and I shall insist that the policy be followed."²⁵

It was not long before Jackson's views on relief were seriously tested.

20. Anna D. Ward, *Annual Report of the Family Welfare Association of Baltimore, 1930* (n.p., n.d.), pp. 7-9.

21. *Baltimore Sun*, February 14, 1931.

22. "Civil Works Administration Activities in Maryland," pp. 26, 35, Record Group 69, Federal Emergency Relief Administration, National Archives.

23. *Baltimore Sun*, February 14, 1931; February 17, 1931; March 29, 1931.

24. Frederic A. Kummer and Ferdinand C. Latrobe, *The Free State of Maryland: A History of the State and Its People, 1634-1941*, 4 vols. (Baltimore, n.d.), 4:1519-20.

25. "Mayor Jackson Now at Helm," *Baltimore Municipal Journal*, 19 (May 22, 1931): 4.

Unemployment continued to rise. In September Baltimore's unions reported that 31 per cent of their members were completely unemployed and another 27 per cent were able to find only part-time work. The building trades unions reported 62 per cent totally unemployed.²⁶ The effects of the prolonged widespread unemployment were seen in the increasing numbers of unemployed workers who were forced to appeal to the city's charitable organizations for help. The Family Welfare Association released a statement on October 1 stating that the funds raised by the Citizens' Emergency Relief Committee would be exhausted by October 20. The statement concluded with a paragraph revealing a feeling of impotence in the face of the growing crisis: "Our own regular income for the year from the Community Fund and all other sources will not begin to carry the load until the end of the year. How the needs are to be met, we do not know. Never in the experience of the organization have we seen so much suffering and such dire conditions of want as exist now."²⁷

That month the municipal government loaned \$150,000 to the Citizens' Emergency Relief Committee with the understanding that the loan would be repaid by January 1 from funds received from the Community Fund's fall charity drive. But it soon became apparent that extraordinary measures would be required to cope with the relief situation. The number of people needing relief was increasing at an alarming rate—3,800 families in September; 5,100 in November; 7,800 in December; 11,100 in January; 14,100 in February.²⁸ The Family Welfare Association had to acquire office space in five additional buildings to handle the crowds which were thronging to it for aid. The association increased its staff from 61 to 152 persons, but still many social workers were responsible for the care of from two to three hundred families.²⁹

As each passing week brought ever-increasing numbers of unemployed persons to the relief agencies, the city's relief workers came to realize that the problem was of such magnitude that the customary method of relying upon private charity to care for the needy was simply inadequate. At the beginning of March, W. Frank Roberts, the Chairman of the Citizens' Emergency Relief Committee, informed Mayor Jackson that the relief agencies were using up funds at the rate of \$50,000 a week. At that rate existing funds would be exhausted by the end of the month, Roberts told the mayor. It was apparent that large scale governmental assistance was imperative; the only question was what form it would take.³⁰

On March 13 Mayor Jackson and Governor Ritchie met to discuss the problem. They were unable to agree upon a plan, but they decided that the mayor would make available to the relief agencies up to \$100,000 from his contingency fund while a plan was being worked out.³¹ On March 18 Ritchie called a conference to

26. Untitled summary of unemployment among Baltimore union members, Entry 4, Classification No. 620.1, Record Group 73, President's Organization on Unemployment Relief, National Archives.

27. Anna D. Ward, "Statement Concerning Unemployment Relief, the Present Situation and the Outlook for 1932," in "Social Welfare, Baltimore," Vertical File, Maryland Room, Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore, Maryland, p. 5.

28. "CWA Activities in Maryland," p. 35.

29. Anna D. Ward, *Family Welfare Association Annual Report, 1931*, p. 3.

30. *Baltimore Sun*, March 4, 1932.

31. *Ibid.*, March 14, 1932.

which he invited several state and municipal officials and the leaders of the Baltimore relief effort. Ritchie decided that the first thing to be done was to obtain an accurate estimate of future needs. He suggested that his advisor on budgetary and economic matters, Walter N. Kirkman, should meet with Police Commissioner Gaither, other appropriate city officials, and representatives of the relief agencies to determine how much money would be needed. He then gave his views on the policy to be followed in giving state aid:

I would not be disposed to have the state government appropriate any sum of money which would be distributed for relief purposes in the form of donations, gifts, or doles. I consider that this would be inconsistent with our ideals and institutions; that it would tend to destroy self-initiative and individual enterprise and that it would constitute a charge upon the public treasury which it would be very difficult to terminate and would add unduly to the tax burdens of the people.³²

Ritchie expressed his support at the conference for a plan by which the state would issue bonds to raise the money needed to finance Baltimore's relief expenditures. The state would then loan the money to the city and would be repaid later. Ritchie had some misgivings about the plan, feeling that it conflicted with a provision in the state constitution restricting Baltimore's ability to incur a debt. Moreover, he still hoped that Baltimore could find some way to handle the relief problem by itself. Four days after the conference he discussed the problem with Jackson in a meeting that lasted until three o'clock in the morning. Jackson left the meeting with the impression that some sort of state assistance would eventually be forthcoming once the legal difficulties were worked out.³³

The conference held on March 18 dealt with the relief situation in the counties as well as in Baltimore City. Governor Ritchie had been kept informed of conditions throughout the state by the state agricultural agents and by members of Drought Loan Committees set up the preceding year to help drought-stricken farmers obtain loans. Surveys had been conducted among the agricultural agents in September and December 1931 to determine how badly the counties were affected by the spreading unemployment. Two days before the conference the agricultural agents had been asked to comment on existing conditions. Their reports indicated that while conditions had gotten worse in sixteen of the twenty-three counties, the relief problem was acute only in Baltimore and Anne Arundel counties. Relief agencies in both counties had used up nearly all of the funds available to them.³⁴

Several social workers attending the conference privately disputed the contention that the relief problem was acute in only two counties. They did not speak out at that time, however, because the Maryland State Conference of Social Work was still working on its own survey of unemployment relief in the

32. *Ibid.*, March 19, 1932.

33. *Ibid.*, March 19, 1932; March 23, 1932.

34. *Ibid.*, March 19, 1932; "Emergency Report on Survey of Unemployment and Depression Situation in Maryland Counties," in "Social Welfare," Vertical File, Maryland Room, Enoch Pratt Free Library.

state. A report prepared by social worker Mary F. Bogue and based on that survey was made public in May. From the information she and her assistants had gathered during their visits to the counties, Miss Bogue concluded that the relief problem was very serious in at least eight counties. Private resources had already been exhausted in five counties—Baltimore, Anne Arundel, Garrett, Allegany, and Cecil. Three counties—Prince George's, Washington, and Wicomico—had successfully dealt with their relief problems the preceding winter but might not be able to do so again using only private funds.³⁵

The long depression in the coal industry—it had started in the early twenties—made the relief situation in Garrett and Allegany counties the most serious in the state outside of Baltimore City. In February of 1932, 7.0 per cent of the families in Garrett County and 6.6 per cent in Allegany County were on relief.³⁶ Many of the smaller mines had been closed about half of the preceding year. Consolidated Coal Company, the largest company in the Maryland coal fields, encountered considerable financial difficulty and finally went into receivership in June 1932.³⁷ The state Bureau of Mines reported that its safety inspectors were greatly hindered in their work by the fact that they would sometimes have to visit half a dozen mines before they could find one in operation. The troubles in the coal industry had already crippled the economies of these two counties before the Depression began. Their resources were simply inadequate to meet the relief needs arising from the greatly increased unemployment.³⁸

The problems in Baltimore and Anne Arundel counties were due to high rates of unemployment in the areas contiguous to Baltimore City. In Cecil County many of those on relief were persons whose incomes had been barely above the poverty level in prosperous times and who now were unable to find any work at all. A considerable number of blacks fell into that category. Two-thirds of the blacks in Elkton were unemployed in the spring of 1932. Prince George's County had depended upon a \$12,000 contribution from federal employees to make it through the preceding winter. If a similar contribution was not forthcoming for 1932-33 the county would be in serious trouble. Washington County, which contained the state's third largest city, Hagerstown, had a relatively large number of persons on relief. The fact that none of the Washington County schools could supply clothing for school children after April was a sign of impending trouble. Wicomico County was suffering from increasing unemployment which threatened to become too severe for the county's limited relief resources.³⁹

In addition to these eight counties where the social workers found serious relief problems, there were seven other counties where a difference of opinion existed over whether relief needs were being met. These counties were mostly rural counties where local residents felt that giving relief tended to "weaken the

35. Mary F. Bogue, *Report of a Study of Needs and Resources for Unemployment Relief in Maryland*, Report to the Maryland State Conference of Social Work (Baltimore, 1932), pp. 70-3.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 31.

37. *Forty-First Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor and Statistics of Maryland*, 1932, p. 4.

38. *Fortieth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor and Statistics of Maryland*, 1931, pp. 2-5.

39. Bogue, *Study of Needs and Resources*, pp. 11-12, 70-73.

character" of the recipient. Social workers in the counties felt, however, that there were people there who needed help but were not getting it. The truant officer in one of the counties told the social workers that she thought there were at least fifty families in the county who would benefit from relief. She had visited several homes, she said, where there was nothing but watercress to be served for a meal.⁴⁰

The winter of 1931-32 had been a difficult one in many parts of the country, especially in the larger cities. Throughout the 1931-32 Congressional session the Hoover administration had struggled with the liberals in Congress over the question of using public funds for relief. In February 1932 the LaFollette-Costigan Relief Bill was defeated in the Senate by a 48-35 vote. Support for a relief bill continued to grow during the spring and summer, however, as city after city faced relief crises. In July Congress passed the Emergency Relief and Construction Act which authorized the newly formed Reconstruction Finance Corporation to make loans to the states for use in unemployment relief. The loans were obtainable at 3 per cent interest and were to be repaid from highway grants beginning in 1935. The relief act contained a provision requiring the governor of the state applying for a loan to certify that the state's own resources were inadequate to meet its relief needs. The Hoover administration held the governors to a strict interpretation of that provision as a means of restricting the number of loans.⁴¹ Nevertheless, through March of 1933, forty of the forty-eight states had applied for loans.⁴²

Governor Ritchie showed little inclination towards taking advantage of the RFC loans. A month after the act was passed George Henderson, the Mayor of Cumberland, wrote to Ritchie explaining that the relief organizations in Cumberland were spending far more than their budgets allowed and that they would need a loan of \$25,000 to carry them through the winter. Henderson suggested that the state should take advantage of the federal funds made available through the RFC. Ritchie replied that the state could not loan the money to Cumberland without a special act of the legislature and that the state was not eligible for loans from the RFC because not all city, county, and state funds were exhausted. To another enquiry about Maryland's dealings with the RFC, Ritchie stated simply that the state had not applied for a loan and that moreover, "we are not expecting to do so. We think we will be able to take care of our own situation without applying to the Federal Government."⁴³

Ritchie's readiness to do what was necessary to take care of the situation came under question in November when he became involved in a budget dispute in Baltimore City. During the twenties Baltimore City and several of the counties had been swept away by the optimism of the times and had incurred larger debts

40. *Ibid.*, pp. 47-8, 75.

41. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., *The Age of Roosevelt*, vol. 1, *The Crisis of the Old Order* (Boston, 1957), p. 241.

42. *Baltimore Sun*, March 29, 1933.

43. George Henderson to Albert C. Ritchie, August 4, 1932; Albert C. Ritchie to George Henderson, August 5, 1932; and Albert C. Ritchie to Benjamin Marsh, November 1, 1932, Box 8006 (10), Ritchie Executive Papers.

than they should have. As a result they were saddled with substantial obligations at a time when the taxable base was shrinking and tax delinquency was increasing due to the depressed economy. A commission appointed by the legislature to investigate taxation in Maryland concluded that homeowners in the cities and farmers in the counties were bearing an undesirably heavy burden of direct property taxation.⁴⁴ Few of Baltimore's homeowners read the commission's report, but by the fall of 1932 many of them had already reached the same conclusion. When Mayor Jackson announced in late October that the 1933 budget would require an increase in the city tax rate, a wave of opposition arose against any tax increase. The leader of the opposition within the municipal government was City Council President E. Lester Muller, who felt that the proposed budget should be reduced so that a tax increase could be avoided.⁴⁵

Jackson and Muller argued publicly about the budget during most of November. By the end of the month the widespread opposition to the tax increase crystallized in the form of the Taxpayers' War Council, a coalition of twenty-four organizations in the city claiming to represent over 62,000 citizens. On December 7 the War Council held a mass meeting of the city's taxpayers. That night over 4,000 irate taxpayers squeezed into Polytechnic Auditorium, where they confronted a rather subdued City Council and several speakers seated on the stage. The crowd was in a boistrous mood, freely cheering and booing speeches from the stage and opinions volunteered from the audience. They booed every mention of Mayor Jackson or his administration. They booed figures explaining the increase in the cost of operating the schools, they booed mention of the \$100,000 appropriation for new conduits, and they booed Muller, their own man on the City Council. Between boos they found time to pass a resolution asking the City Council to strike out every item in the budget that was not absolutely essential.⁴⁶

Governor Ritchie had become involved in the budget controversy on November 3 when he attended a meeting of the Baltimore City Board of Estimates. After the meeting he released a statement urging an "earnest effort" to reduce the budget further and reviewing the state's role in helping to finance Baltimore's relief expenditures. He indicated that he would support legislation to raise the necessary funds, either through a state bond issue or by authorizing the city to borrow the money itself.⁴⁷ A month later, though, Ritchie wrote a letter to Jackson expressing some misgivings about the plan for state financing of Baltimore's relief expenditures. He was bothered by the possibility that such legislation might be unconstitutional. "I think," Ritchie explained, "that when this funding question is taken up for consideration at the next session of the legislature that the legality of the proposition will necessarily be one of the points to be considered, because, naturally, I would not want to recommend a state bond issue if I felt that its legality was open to any serious question."⁴⁸

44. *Report of the Tax Survey Commission of Maryland Submitted to the Governor of Maryland and the General Assembly of Maryland, December 1, 1932*, Jacob H. Hollander, chairman (Baltimore, 1932), pp. 1-5.

45. *Baltimore Sun*, November 4, 1932.

46. *Ibid.*, December 1, 1932; December 8, 1932.

47. *Ibid.*, November 4, 1932.

48. Albert C. Ritchie to Howard W. Jackson, December 10, 1932, Box 8062 (22), Ritchie Executive Papers.

Mayor Jackson had been forced into an untenable political position on the budget issue. His position was further undermined when Baltimore's bankers learned of Ritchie's second thoughts about the bond issue. They sent word to Jackson that no more relief loans to the city would be approved until the tax rate for the proposed budget was reduced.⁴⁹ On December 14 Jackson made Ritchie's letter public and announced that because of the uncertainties created by the letter he was slashing the budget and reducing the proposed tax rate. Ritchie quickly arranged a conference with Jackson and released a statement saying that the letter had created a misunderstanding. What he had meant, he explained, was that he was not committed to supporting any particular plan, but would wait until the legislature met before deciding upon a method of assistance, and that he would consider conditions in the entire state when he made his decision. Obviously, he said, the situation in Baltimore had to be taken care of by the state legislature.⁵⁰

In devising a plan to finance Baltimore's relief expenditures, Ritchie had to consider not only the contending pleas for help coming from unemployed workers and overburdened taxpayers in the city, but also the voices from the counties calling for tax relief there. On November 28 county commissioners from seventeen counties met in Annapolis to coordinate plans for reducing county taxes. They agreed upon a program calling for reduction of the minimum state school tax levy from \$.67 to \$.40 per \$100 and diversion of state gasoline tax funds to the counties for maintenance of county roads. In January the county commissioners explained their program to county taxpayers in a series of mass meetings. The meetings were timed to exert pressure upon the county legislators who were in Annapolis for the 1933 legislative session.⁵¹

When the legislature convened on January 4 Governor Ritchie presented a legislative program that he hoped would satisfy both county and city representatives. The most important item of legislation was, of course, the proposal for funding Baltimore's relief expenditures. Ritchie recommended a plan based on a state tax on luxury items such as cigarettes, cigars, soft drinks, and chewing gum. The income from the tax on those items would be apportioned among the counties and Baltimore City on the basis of population. The portion belonging to the counties would be used to reduce their state taxes; the portion due to Baltimore City would be retained by the state and used to retire the state bonds which would be issued to finance Baltimore's relief expenditures for 1932 and 1933.⁵²

Ritchie's program met stiff opposition from the county legislators. The tobacco farmers in southern Maryland were not happy at the prospect of having an additional tax put on their product, especially when half of the proceeds were earmarked for Baltimore City. Many of the county legislators felt that a large percentage of the funds could be raised simply by putting a 10 per cent tax on

49. Margarita Collins, "Bulletin to Public School Teachers Association," Ritchie Correspondence, Maryland Room, McKeldin Library, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland.

50. *Baltimore Sun*, December 15, 1932.

51. *Ibid.*, November 29, 1932; January 16, 1933.

52. Maryland, Secretary of State, *Message of Governor Albert C. Ritchie to the General Assembly of Maryland of 1933* (Baltimore, 1933), pp. 28-31.

pari-mutuel betting. Folks who could afford to waste their money gambling might just as well let their winnings do some good, they thought. A strong county faction led by Senator J. Allan Coad of St. Mary's County felt that much fat remained on the budget, and they were determined to trim it off.⁵³

Midway through the session Ritchie saw that opposition to the luxury tax was too strong. He decided to obtain as much of the money as possible through drastic economy measures within the state government. The money thus saved was to be combined with revenue from a 1 per cent pari-mutuel tax and receipts from motor vehicle license fees to form a pool yielding three million dollars for each of the fiscal years 1934 and 1935. Baltimore City would receive \$1.5 million each year and the counties the same amount. All but \$200,000 of Baltimore's share would be applied to payments for the bond issue. The rest would be used to lower the municipal tax rate. The counties' share would enable the state to lower the minimum school levy.⁵⁴

The revised program and the bill authorizing the bond issue to finance unemployment relief expenditures in Baltimore passed the legislature during the busy closing days of the session. When the relief bond issue bill was first proposed in January the amount to be raised was set at \$8 million. By April 3, when the bill passed the House, estimates of the year's relief expenditures had increased so much that the amount of the bond issue had to be increased to \$12 million.⁵⁵

During the winter of 1932-33 the relief rolls continued to grow. Baltimore had 18,250 families on relief in September; by January 2,500 more had been added. Twenty per cent of Baltimore's workers were unemployed in January of 1933; 11 per cent of the city's residents were on relief. Moreover, the families on relief were able to contribute less to their own upkeep than before and were requiring more help per family.⁵⁶

Relief workers in the counties were facing the same problems that Baltimore relief workers had faced the preceding winter. In March, 5.2 per cent of the families in the counties were on the relief rolls. Over the winter a much higher percentage had been aided at one time or another. Queen Anne's County had 73 families on relief in March, but 106 different families had required aid over a period of three months. Harford County reported 158 families on relief in March, but over 500 families had received some kind of assistance since the beginning of November. The number of families on the relief rolls was much larger than in the previous winter. Somerset County had 89 families on relief in February of 1932; a year later it had 625. In Worcester County the increase was from 61 to 642. In Allegany County, where unemployment had long been a serious problem, the number of people on relief increased by 60 per cent over the winter.⁵⁷

In August of 1932 Governor Ritchie had appointed a Governor's Advisory Committee on Unemployment to gather information about the relief problem in

53. *Baltimore Sun*, January 26, 1933; January 30, 1933.

54. *Ibid.*, February 25, 1933.

55. *Ibid.*, April 4, 1933.

56. "CWA Activities in Maryland," pp. 26, 35.

57. Anita J. Faatz to Albert C. Ritchie, March 10, 1933, Box 8006 (10), Ritchie Executive Papers.

the counties and recommend a course of action for the state to follow regarding it. In January of 1933 the committee received a letter from Dr. J. H. Janney, the Chairman of the Anne Arundel County Central Relief Committee. Dr. Janney had noted that newspaper reports indicated the Ritchie administration thought Maryland was taking care of its relief problems adequately. He wrote to the committee, he said, to inform them that such was not the case in Anne Arundel County. Inadequate relief was being given in a majority of cases, with relief families receiving "starvation" rations. Better rations could not be given, Dr. Janney explained, because the relief organizations did not have enough money to do so. Conditions in the northern part of the county were so bad, Dr. Janney thought, that it looked as if in some instances relief would become "almost permanent in character." In his opinion, Dr. Janney concluded, both additional county aid and state aid were needed.⁵⁸

Anita Faatz, the Director of Welfare of the Board of State Aid and Charities, had visited the counties gathering information for the Governor's Advisory Committee on Unemployment Relief. She had become very upset over the deteriorating conditions. On March 10 she wrote a letter to Ritchie describing the relief situation in the counties and expressing her concern. She concluded by saying that she thought the counties could make it through the winter, but that "we need and need urgently, State leadership, State planning, and [State] financial resources if people are to be cared for next winter."⁵⁹

Ten days later the Governor's Advisory Committee on Unemployment Relief forwarded its report to Ritchie. The committee pointed out that much of the traditional thinking about relief was no longer applicable in the conditions that now existed. The feeling had been quite general in the counties that the people who required relief were "the low standard white people, the Negroes, and the poor who 'are always with us.'" The aid that had traditionally been given was scaled to the "worthiness" of the chronic poor. It consisted mostly of food and was given as sparingly as possible. The people who now required relief, however, were people who had never needed assistance before, the committee pointed out. They constituted a group of "new poor" and necessitated the development of new attitudes about relief. When the number of families on relief approached 10 per cent of the state population, the committee declared, the issue was no longer one of serving the poor in merciful kindness. Unemployment and inadequate income meant people who were unable to pay for necessities such as medical care, it meant families breaking up under strain. The problem facing the state therefore was "one of the conservation of the human values and social elements involved for the protection of the state."⁶⁰

The crux of the problem, the committee thought, was financial resources. State income was tied to deflating property values, but the federal government possessed a much more flexible taxing power. The momentum of the federal government joining hands with the state governments was inescapable, the

58. Dr. J. H. Janney to Harry Greenstein, January 31, 1933, *ibid.*

59. Faatz to Ritchie.

60. "Report and Recommendations of Advisory Committee on Unemployment Relief," March 20, 1933, *ibid.*, pp. 1-3.

committee asserted. It warned that the state that did not join hands with the federal government would find itself losing out in two ways: first, through the taxes its citizens would have to pay to provide federal relief for other states, and second, through its own inability to support an adequate relief program. The committee recommended that machinery be set up through which federal and state funds could be joined with local resources under state leadership.⁶¹

A week later Governor Ritchie released a statement saying that he was prepared to ask the Reconstruction Finance Corporation for a loan to relieve distress in the counties. Ritchie explained that information he had received from Miss Faatz and his advisory committee showed that conditions in the counties had reached the point where outside assistance to the counties became necessary. He added that he had also been impressed by rumors that the states would not be required to pay back the RFC loans. He had decided, he said, that it would be foolish for Maryland to take care of its own relief problems if other states were to benefit from federal funds without penalty.⁶²

The decision to turn to the federal government for assistance in handling the relief problem was one that Governor Ritchie made with great reluctance. At both the state and local levels Maryland's governmental officials waited until the failure of private charity forced them to act before they took any effective steps to deal with the relief problem. Their hesitancy was due in part to a conviction that such matters were best handled by private charity and in part to budgetary problems resulting from a decline in governmental revenues. But it also seems to have been due in part to a tendency to place a higher priority on achieving a balanced budget than on providing assistance to the suffering unemployed. Governor Ritchie, along with many other Maryland officials, at first voiced strong opposition to federal initiatives in dealing with the relief problem, basing his opposition on the familiar states' rights argument. Ironically, within two years after Ritchie decided to ask for federal aid the federal government was threatening to terminate that aid if Maryland did not assume a larger share of its own relief expenditures.⁶³

61. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

62. *Baltimore Sun*, March 29, 1933.

63. *Ibid.*, March 14, 1935.

SIDELIGHT

Black Society And the Economics of Slavery

ALLAN KULIKOFF*

THREE NEW WORKS, EACH THE RESULT OF YEARS OF RESEARCH AND ANALYSIS, are creating a new social, economic, and demographic history of black people in the ante-bellum South.¹ Fogel and Engerman's *Time on the Cross*, the first to appear, was instantly controversial.² Their book provoked debate for two reasons. First, they reported the findings of ten years of research into the history of slavery by cliometricians and presented these conclusions in clear language. The validity of their data, and the way they used the data to support their findings, have been subject to much criticism.³ Secondly, the authors examined slave conditions and black society and concluded that slave life was more secure and stable than previously documented by historians.⁴ This review will analyze Fogel and Engerman's description of slave society and suggest how a different approach to their data modifies their conclusions.

Fogel and Engerman were led to study black society by their findings about ante-bellum cotton economy. These conclusions can be briefly summarized. The South before the Civil War was neither lazy nor unproductive. Slavery was a

Mr. Allan Kulikoff is a fellow at the Institute of Early American History and Culture for the 1975-1977 term.

* A number of scholars commented upon, and improved earlier versions of this essay. I would like to thank Linda Bissell, David Bohmer, John B. Boles, Lois Carr, Herbert Gutman, P. M. G. Harris, Edward Kopf, Russell Menard, Elizabeth Pleck, and Lorena Walsh for their incisive criticisms.

1. Robert William Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman, *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery*, Volume 1, and *Time on the Cross: Evidence and Methods*, Volume 2 (Boston, 1974); Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York, 1974); and Herbert Gutman's two-volume study of slave and free black family life (fall 1975 publication).

2. Mr. Fogel appeared on the NBC Today show, and two conferences were held in October and November 1974 on *Time on the Cross*. The book received substantial coverage in non-academic publications. For example, see reviews by C. Vann Woodward, *New York Review of Books*, 21 (May 2, 1974) and by Eugene Genovese, *Washington Post Book World*, May 26, 1974, and a long article on the Rochester conference on the book by Joel Dreyfuss, *Washington Post*, November 3, 1974.

3. Critical reviews of their statistics and economic methods may be found in essays by Thomas Haskell, *New York Review of Books*, 21 (September 21, 1974): 38-42; by Allan J. Lichtman in *The New Republic*, 171 (July 6-13, 1974): 22-24; and especially the long essay by Paul David and Peter Temin in the *Journal of Economic History*, 34 (1974): 739-83.

4. The best analysis of Fogel and Engerman's data and conclusions about Afro-American slave society is Herbert Gutman's "The World Two Cliometricians Made: A Review-Essay of F + E = T/C," *Journal of Negro History*, 60 (January 1975): 53-227.

profitable institution, and returns on slave labor equaled those on industrial investments in the North. Southern agriculture, they insist, was the most efficient in the nation because of economies of scale and "assembly line" production gangs on large cotton plantations. Per capita income in the South—including slaves as participants—was exceeded in 1860 only by Australia, the northeastern United States, and Great Britain. Between 1840 and 1860, per capita income grew faster in the South than in the North.

The authors included materials on slave society "to strike down the view that black Americans were without culture, without achievement, and without development for their first two hundred and fifty years on American soil." Black men and women were efficient workers whose efforts led to growing southern wealth and prosperity in the ante-bellum period. Slaves worked in gangs and were often led by black drivers. Field hands produced large cotton crops, grew corn and vegetables, tended livestock, and repaired plantation structures. Slaves could earn extra money or receive rewards for work performed on their "own" time, and men who performed well were trained for more prestigious positions as artisans or drivers. In 1850 one-fourth of male slaves and a fifth of female slaves on cotton plantations were overseers, drivers, skilled craftsmen, or personal servants.

Although to increase their profits most masters exploited their slaves, they realized relatively contented slaves performed better. Consequently masters encouraged slaves to live in nuclear families, rarely sexually abused their female slaves (and insisted that white overseers keep away from them), sufficiently fed and clothed their charges, and only infrequently whipped them.

How adequately are these assertions documented? Fogel and Engerman place their data on slave society into an economic context which provides only a partial picture of ante-bellum Afro-American society. There are two important conceptual problems in the way the book treats slave society. Unlike several recent historians,⁵ Fogel and Engerman see blacks almost exclusively from the vantage point of the masters and ignore Afro-American culture and religious life. Secondly, they are remarkably insensitive to temporal and geographical variations in slave life and treatment. As a result of both of these problems together, the authors both underestimate black achievements and exaggerate the stability of slave social and family life.

Slaves lived in two worlds. At work, they had to appear to obey their masters and had to hide their semi-independent life in their quarters. At home, black folk created their own society. Fogel and Engerman see only the world of the masters. For example, they imply that a slave's status was determined by the occupation his master chose for him. Whites probably ranked their slaves by occupation, but a black person's position in Afro-American society was probably based upon

5. Besides Gutman's and Genovese's works cited in note 1, see Gerald W. Mullin, *Flight and Rebellion: Slave Resistance in Eighteenth-Century Virginia* (New York, 1972); Peter H. Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion* (New York, 1974); John W. Blassingame, *The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Ante-Bellum South* (New York, 1972); George P. Rawick, *From Sundown to Sunup: The Making of the Black Community* (Westport, New York, 1972).

more than occupation; status in black slave society was probably determined by occupation, age, sex, place in family and kinship networks, and the role played in the community's religious life. The importance of slave culture to arguments made in *Time on the Cross* will become clearer after a discussion of slave family life, and I will return to it at the end of the essay.

Historians of slavery have traditionally stressed the ante-bellum period and have often treated the institution as if it were static. Even though new works by Mullin and Wood suggest that the conception of change over time is becoming critical to students of Afro-American life, Fogel and Engerman narrowed the traditional period of study. Almost all of their data is from the period between 1850 and 1860,⁶ but they do not explicitly limit their conclusions to that time. Even when they collected serial data, useable time series that would indicate stability or change over time are not presented.⁷

The nearly static picture of slave life between 1850 and 1860 distorts slave experiences in two ways. In the first place, slave society was probably different in 1800 or 1750 or 1830 than in 1850. Secondly, slave society was an organism that changed from generation to generation and changed from time to time in the life cycle of an individual. At different times in their lives slaves were children and parents, field hands or artisans, and persisters or migrants. The occupation and status of a slave varied with his age and generation. The social life of a slave born in 1800 may have differed greatly from that of his child born in 1825 or his grandchild born in 1850. More slaves of one generation than another may have been separated from their families, had an opportunity to perform skilled labor, lived their entire lives with their kinfolk and friends, or procured their freedom. Fogel and Engerman do not examine possible secular or generational changes in slave society.

One can best understand the conceptual problems of *Time on the Cross* by a detailed analysis of one set of findings. Fogel and Engerman's discussion of slave family structure provides an example. In the pages that follow, I will report their findings on black family life and then place their data into the context of generational change. Since important changes occurred in black family structure before 1800, I will add details from recent research on slave families in colonial Maryland.

Black families in the ante-bellum period, according to Fogel and Engerman, were strong, nuclear, and stable like those of their white masters. Black men headed patriarchal families, lived in their own cabins with their families, and received rations of food and clothing from the master for their wives and children. Children often stayed with both parents until they married. Black women in their late teens and early twenties married men in their mid twenties, and they were

6. Many of Fogel and Engerman's equations can be computed from statistics found only in the 1850 and 1860 censuses, but earlier plantation and probate records contain demographic, occupational, price, and production data. Fogel and Engerman have collected masses of this material, but have only begun to analyze it.

7. For example, Fogel and Engerman could have produced a time series on age at first birth of slave women from the probate sources they used. The time series of net interstate migration they present cannot be understood unless the percentage of migrants of the total slave population in each period is given. Fogel and Engerman do not provide this data. See table 1 for such an analysis.

usually chaste at marriage. Few black families were fragmented by the sale of family members or internally destroyed by the rape of black women. Most slave migrants traveled with their children and their masters to new homes in the Southwest.

Fogel and Engerman present three pieces of evidence to support their conclusion that Afro-American families were stable: the age of slave women at the birth of their first child, the number of mulattoes in the South, and the rate of net interstate geographic migration of slaves from 1790 to 1860. The first two are very ambiguous indicators of the stability of slave families and can be analyzed briefly. However, geographic movement had a great impact on black family life, and Fogel and Engerman present a useful time series of interstate migration.

The age of slave women at the birth of their first child is used by Fogel and Engerman to deny that black women and teenagers were promiscuous. Since the mean age of mothers at their first births was 22.5 and 60 percent occurred after the mother reached age twenty, Fogel and Engerman conclude that slave women waited until marriage to begin having intercourse and that "slave parents closely guarded their daughters from sexual contact with men." To base conclusions about sexual mores on an age at first birth is a great jump in logic. Promiscuity is not a function of age; the nature of sexual activity is determined by the relationship between the participants rather than their ages. A married fifteen-year-old slave woman could in good conscience have intercourse with her husband, but her twenty-five-year-old sister who flitted from man to man was promiscuous.

Fogel and Engerman insist that white sexual exploitation of black women was not common enough to undermine black families, and use the small percentage of mulattoes in the slave population to support this assertion. Only 7.7 percent of all slaves were mulattoes in 1850 and 10.4 percent in 1860. Using a complex genetic formula, the authors found that only between 1 and 2 percent of all slave children on ante-bellum plantations had white fathers. This data is three times removed from the conclusions based upon it. Only a few rapes of black women would create a great deal of fear in the slave community. The number of sexual acts gives no clue to the quality of the activity: miscegenation could be an act between rapist and victim, between lovers, or between common-law husband and wife. Finally, the number of mulatto children is not a measure of the number of interracial sexual contacts. Sexual activity is measured by an event that might or might not occur nine months later; women were not at risk to conceive a child when already pregnant, when nursing a child, or at times outside their period.

The number of slave families separated by long distance migration is potentially a very useful indicator of the stability of black families. Fogel and Engerman maintain that interstate migration from east to west displaced few slave families. A net total of about 835,000 slaves went from the older, eastern states to newer cotton lands in the west from 1790 to 1860. Only about 16 percent of them (127,000) were sold from 1810 to 1860; the rest traveled with their masters. Children were rarely sold. Only 9.3 percent of all slaves sold in New Orleans from 1804 to 1862 were children under thirteen, and 65 percent were young and mostly unmarried slaves between thirteen and twenty-four. Children

who migrated usually traveled with their parents and the master. Slave marriages were only infrequently broken. About 5.8 percent of all slave marriages were ended by slave sales both within and between states, and a further 2.8 percent were broken by estate divisions. The vast majority of marriages, they insist, were broken by the death of one of the partners.

The impact of migration on slave families is greatly underestimated in *Time on the Cross*. Fogel and Engerman's conception of the family is very narrow and the statistics they present exclude many migrants. They include only husband, wife, and children under thirteen in slave families. The sale of a twenty-year-old man from Virginia to Alabama and his separation from his parents and siblings did not, according to their definition, split a slave family. Net interstate migration excludes much geographic movement. Many slave families were split by local sales, gifts and bequests to children by masters, and other intrastate transfers of slaves. Furthermore, reciprocal interstate transfers were not included. If 1000 slaves were sold from Virginia to Maryland and 1000 slaves were sold from Maryland to Virginia, these sales would not be in the statistics.

Fogel and Engerman's data on geographic movement of slaves and recent research on colonial slavery permit an analysis of the effects of migration on black family stability. Tables 1 and 2 summarize and extend Fogel and Engerman's statistics. It must be emphasized that the statistics found in the tables are very rough estimates and must be treated with caution. They do permit one to make a plausible argument about the changing numbers of migrants from 1790 to 1860.⁸

Recent research indicates that it took several generations for Africans and their children to develop stable family life in colonial North America. More men than women were imported from Africa and black households often included only mothers and their children; as a result, many men could not belong to any slave family. By 1750 the sex ratio declined to near equality, and nearly every native slave was a member of a large extended family. While some slaves were forced to migrate to frontier areas, a large proportion of Afro-American slaves of the pre-Revolutionary generation stayed their entire lives in the neighborhood of their birth. These slaves developed extensive kinship networks with their parents, children, and other relatives. Many black men did not live on the same plantation as their wives in the eighteenth century, and the responsibility for daily child nurture fell on their wives. On large plantations, the mother and her children were surrounded by the mother's sisters, brothers, nieces, nephews, cousins, parents, uncles, and aunts. These blood kin provided companionship

8. All the statistics in the two tables are based upon Fogel and Engerman's time series of net interstate migration. The survivor method used in calculating the series may not be totally reliable. They had to estimate survival rates (from life tables), total immigration, and age structures. To calculate their statistics, they assumed that vital rates for slaves were the same over the entire country, and then determined how many slaves should have lived in each state if no migration had occurred. Any one of these assumptions might be incorrect. The series on intrastate migration (found in table 1) is based upon slave sales from a single state (Maryland) during one ten year period (1830-1840) which may or may not be typical of national trends over a longer time. For the survivor method, see *Time on the Cross*, 2:42-48, and for more detailed comments on the statistics I calculated, see the notes to tables 1 and 2.

TABLE 1
MIGRATIONS OF BLACKS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1790-1860^a

Period	Interstate Migrants		Percentage Intrastate Migrants ^c	Percentage Foreign Immigrants	Percentage All Migrants And Immigrants
	Number	Percentage ^b			
1790-1800	17,000	2	4	10	16
1800-1810	31,000	3	5	9	17
1810-1820	101,000	7	13	1	20
1820-1830	121,000	6	12	1	18
1830-1840	223,000	9	18	*d	27
1840-1850	149,000	5	9	*d	14
1850-1860	193,000	5	10	*d	14

a. Sources: Column 2, *Time on the Cross*, 1:46; columns 3, 4, see below; column 5, *Time on the Cross* 1:25—immigration figures found there (90,000, 1790-1800; 105,000, 1800-1810; 10,000, other five periods) are divided by the total slave population at the end of the period found in *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957* (Washington, 1960), Series A, 95-122, pp. 11-12; column 6, total of columns 3, 4, and 5 minus the probability that intrastate migrants also were interstate migrants (interstate \times interstate).

b. This percentage is a weighted average by age of migrants. The migrants' age structure is found in *Time on the Cross*, 1:50; general age structures are found in Jack E. Eblen, "New Estimates of the Vital Rates of the United States Black Population During the Nineteenth Century," *Demography*, 11 (1974): 305-306, 309. For the biases and computation of the figures write directly to the author.

c. The figures were based upon data collected for Maryland between 1830 and 1840. See William Calderhead, "How Extensive Was the Border State Slave Trade? A New Look," *Civil War History*, 18 (1972): 51, and *Time on the Cross*, 2:115. Write the author directly for computation procedure.

d. Less than one-half a percent.

between visits from the husband and father. Complex social networks among slaves on neighboring plantations developed as masters gave slaves to their children, and as slave men married women from nearby plantations. Long distance migration deprived the migrant of the support and comfort his extended family had given him.⁹

Black migration during the nineteenth century disrupted slave social life more than similar migrations among whites. White migrants freely left their homes in search of a better life. They could easily visit or write kinfolk left at their old homes. White migrants found numerous social institutions at their destinations that provided them with social and personal identity. They could choose among churches, political parties, towns, general stores, farm groups, and voluntary societies of many varieties. Blacks were more adversely affected by migration. Their movements were involuntary and they usually could not communicate with kinfolk left behind. Only black churches awaited slave migrants at their destinations. Almost every slave who migrated beyond easy visiting range was separated from some member of his extended family, and those left behind were also hurt by the experience.

9. Russell R. Menard, "A Profile of the Maryland Slave Population, 1658-1730: A Demographic Study of Blacks in Four Counties," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 32 (January 1975): 29-54; and Allan Kulikoff, "Tobacco County: Population, Economy and Society in Eighteenth Century Prince George's County, Maryland," chap. 10 (Ph.D. dissertation, Brandeis University, forthcoming). See Wood, *Black Majority*, chap. 5, for somewhat different developments in South Carolina.

Tables 1 and 2 suggest the dimensions of the geographic movements of slaves between 1790 and 1860; table 1 presents data on movements between each decade and table 2 analyzes geographic mobility of generations of slaves over their entire lives. Three general conclusions can be drawn from the tables: There was a great variation in the extent of migration from decade to decade and from generation to generation. Nearly every adult slave born between 1790 and 1830 was either forced to migrate a long distance from his birthplace or knew close kinfolk who left the neighborhood and lived far away.¹⁰ However, kinship networks were maintained and extended throughout the century because at least 40 percent of every generation of slaves stayed their entire lives near their childhood homes.

In general, the rate of migration increased from 1790 to 1840, and then declined in the twenty years before the Civil War. Less than a tenth of all Afro-Americans probably migrated long distances during the early national period, and slaves born before 1790 were less likely to move from their birthplaces than their children or grandchildren. Nevertheless, nearly 200,000 Africans entered the country and most probably went to newly settled areas of South Carolina and Georgia. The family lives of these new slaves was disrupted, and they had to learn to live in a strange Afro-American environment. Afro-Americans had to find places for Africans in their long-established family networks. Immigration declined after 1810 to a trickle, but internal migration increased as areas of the new Southwest were opened to cotton cultivation. More native families were probably separated between 1810 and 1840 than either before or after that time; slaves born between 1800 and 1820 were the generation most affected by internal migration throughout their lives. Migration must have been very unsettling for these slaves. Over half were forced to leave their homes; if each left behind only one (different) spouse, sibling, cousin, aunt, or uncle, then virtually every adult of their generation would have been adversely affected by geographic mobility. Internal movements declined in the 1840s and 1850s, and Afro-Americans born after 1830 left home at a slower pace. As a result, extensive, three-generation kinship networks probably emerged on newer cotton plantations in the southwest.

The major problem with Fogel and Engerman's description of Afro-American society is not their manipulation of data but their conceptual framework. For example, they placed materials on slave families into a chapter on exploitation and asked how slave families were exploited by masters. One might more profitably begin with the cultural context of family life, and ask different

10. I have attempted to determine the proportion of slaves affected by split marriages and the numbers of kinfolk left behind, but the results were too speculative to publish. If one assumed that each migrant left two kinfolk behind and that the numbers of husbands and wives separated was proportional to their strength in the mobile population, and added these two figures to the percentage of migrants, the proportion of the slave population affected in each decade rose from about a fifth in 1790-1800 to over three-quarters in 1830-1840 and then declined to about four-tenths by 1850-1860. When the same procedure was applied to table two, the total percentage affected rose from about half in the 1771-1782 birth cohort to 100 percent by the 1801-1812 cohort and remained that high thereafter. Since many of the same people were affected by migration more than once (and are therefore counted twice in the estimates), the estimates cited in this note should be somewhat reduced.

TABLE 2

NET INTERSTATE AND ESTIMATED INTRASTATE MIGRATION OF SLAVES, BY BIRTH COHORTS, 1771-1842^a

Birth Cohort	Percentage Interstate Migrants By Age Groups			Total Percentage Interstate Migrants	Total Percentage Interstate And Estimated Intrastate Migrants
	0-12	13-24	25-50		
1772-1782	1 ^b	3	2	6	17
1783-1793	2	4	5	10	29
1793-1803	3	10	5	16	44
1803-1813	7	9	7	21	58
1813-1823	7	13	4	22	60
1823-1833	10	7	3	18	51
1833-1843	5	7	1	13	36

a. Each column is a measure of the number of migrants in the group divided by the population at risk to migrate in the group. The percentage of migrants in each age group in each census was determined, and then each cohort was followed through each census. Sources: *Time on the Cross*, 1: 46; Eblen, "New Estimates," 305-306. Write to the author for computation of the statistics.

b. Roughly estimated.

questions: what was the cultural and social role of Afro-American families under slavery? What events would disrupt these functions? How frequently did those events occur? One can speculate on the answers to these questions on the basis of recent research in the area. Slave families provided Afro-Americans with a social identity apart from that given them by their masters, and the children, parents, cousins, brothers, sisters, aunts, and uncles who belonged to the family network became the focus of slave social events. Cultural norms were passed from generation to generation by the extended family. When members of a family network were forcibly removed, the rest of the family continued to function as a unit. These networks survived slavery and even migration to northern cities after the Civil War.¹¹ Because they lacked a cultural context, Fogel and Engerman did not fully understand either the impact of migration on slave families or the achievements of slave families under great adversity.

Despite its limitations, *Time on the Cross* is an important addition to the literature on ante-bellum slavery. The general public learned, and to a degree shared, the excitement felt by working social and economic historians. More importantly, the book presents evidence on many topics and implicitly suggests new directions for the study of slavery. Since their analysis is still incomplete, the writers insist that their conclusions are tentative. One hopes the sustained criticism the book has received will lead to a greatly improved second edition.

11. See Elizabeth Pleck, "Black Migration to Boston in the Late-Nineteenth Century," (Ph.D. dissertation, Brandeis, 1973), *passim*, but esp. chap. 1.

Notes on Maryland Historical Society

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ARTICLES AND BOOKS ON MARYLAND HISTORY, 1974*

RICHARD J. COX

VERY FEW BIBLIOGRAPHIES HAVE BEEN COMPILED ON MARYLAND HISTORY. FOR several years in the early 1950s the *Maryland Historical Magazine* published an annual bibliography. Last year the same journal had a bibliography of articles on Maryland history. Other than these and some specialized bibliographies (such as Paul H. Giddens' "Bibliography on Maryland During the Time of Governor Horatio Sharpe, 1753-1769," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 31 [March 1936]: 6-16) this area of research has been neglected.

The following bibliography is the first of what is to be an annual bibliography. Selection was based on articles and books primarily about Maryland. Both popular and scholarly publications have been included. There are numerous works about the South or other broader topics that include Maryland, but it would not be possible to include everything. For those interested in such publications the regular bibliographies in the *American Historical Review* and especially the *Journal of Southern History* will be most helpful.

General and Unclassified (arranged alphabetically)

Brown, Dorothy M. and Duncan, Richard R. "A Selected Bibliography of Articles in Maryland History in Other Journals." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 69 (Fall 1974):300-16.

Finlayson, Ann. *Colonial Maryland*. New York: Thomas Nelson, Inc., 1974. [Juvenile]

Snell, Tee Loftin. "Lords Brethen and Lords Calvert 1625-1647." In *The Wild Shores: America's Beginnings*, pp. 117-35. Washington D.C.: National Geographic Society, 1974.

The Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Company of Maryland. *The Telephone in Maryland*. Baltimore, 1974.

"The Volunteer Tradition." *History Trails* 9 (Autumn 1974):1-8. [Volunteer Firemen]

*The following people were of inestimable aid in this project: the Library staff of the Maryland Historical Society including Hester Rich, Susan Knight, and Mary K. Meyer; Mr. P. William Filby, Director of the Society; and Dr. Edward C. Papenfuss, State Archivist, Hall of Records.

Archaeology, Architecture, and Art (arranged chronologically)

- Stone, Garry Wheeler. "St. John's: Archaeological Questions and Answers." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 69 (Summer 1974):146-68.
- Carson, Cary. "The 'Virginia House' in Maryland." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 69 (Summer 1974):185-96.
- Sirkis, Nancy; text by Ellwood Parry. "Tidewater Towns and Southern Plantations." In *Reflections of 1776: The Colonies Revisited*, pp. 141-211. New York: Viking Press, 1974.
- "The Tidewater of 1776." *Americana* 2 (March 1974): 2-7. [This is a portion of the above work by Sirkis.]
- Henry, Helen. "Magnificence Preserved." *Baltimore Sun Magazine*, 2 June 1974, pp. 12-19. [Brice House, Annapolis]
- Miller, George L. "A Tenant Farmer's Tableware: Nineteenth-Century Ceramics from Tabb's Purchase." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 69 (Summer 1974):197-210.
- Alexander, Robert L. *The Architecture of Maxmilian Godefroy*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974.
- Cosentino, Andrew J. "Charles Bird King: An Appreciation." *American Art Journal* 6 (May 1974):54-71.
- Iliff, Sally MacDonald. *A Life All Its Own: The Mount Royal Station of the Maryland Institute, College of Art*. Baltimore: Maryland Institute, College of Art, 1974.
- Johnston, William R. "William and Henry Walters: Collectors and Philanthropists." *Walters Art Gallery Bulletin* 27 (December 1974).
- . "American Paintings in the Walters Art Gallery." *Antiques* 106 (November 1974):853-61.
- Randall, Richard H., Jr. "A Gallery for Alfred Jacob Miller." *Antiques* 106 (November 1974):836-43. [Walters Art Gallery]
- Waesche, James F. "Baltimore Interview: Director of the Walters Art Gallery, Richard H. Randall, Jr." *Baltimore* 67 (November 1974):12ff.
- Washington County Museum of Fine Arts. *Regional American Quilts and Coverlets: A Bicentennial Presentation*. Hagerstown: Washington County Museum of Fine Arts, 1974.

Archives and Library (arranged chronologically)

- Cox, Richard J. "Public Records in Colonial Maryland." *American Archivist* 37 (April 1974):263-75.
- Starin, Mary Elizabeth. "The Callister Papers, Maryland Room, Talbot County Free Library, Easton, Maryland." *Maryland and Delaware Genealogist* 15 (January 1974):3-5.
- Brunk, Gerald R. and Lehman, James O. *A Guide to Select Revolutionary War Records Pertaining to Mennonites and Other Pacifist Groups in Southeastern Pennsylvania and Maryland, 1775-1800*. 1974.
- Radoff, Morris L. "The Maryland Records in the Revolutionary War." *American Archivist* 37 (April 1974):277-85.

- Cox, Richard J. "Two Marylanders in the Early Navy: Thè Hambleton Family Papers, MS. 2021." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 69 (Fall 1974):317-21.
- Papenfuse, Edward C. "'A Modicum of Commitment': The Present and Future Importance of the Historical Records Survey." *American Archivist* 37 (April 1974):211-21.
- Smith, Richard K., ed. *The Hugh L. Dryden Papers 1898-1965: A Preliminary Catalogue of the Basic Collection*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1974.
- Cox, Richard J. "The Historical Development of the Manuscripts Division of the Maryland Historical Society." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 69 (Winter 1974):409-17.
- . "A Description of the Vertical File." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 69 (Spring 1974):86-90. [at the Maryland Historical Society]
- . "Opportunities for Maryland Medical History Research at the Maryland Historical Society." *Maryland State Medical Journal* 23 (June 1974):56.
- Evans, Richard A. and Shallerup, Harry R. "The Nimitz Library, U.S. Naval Academy." *Library Scene* 3 (June 1974):4-7.
- Malloy, Mary Gordon and Sween, Jane. *A Selective Guide to the Historic Records of Montgomery County, Maryland*. Rockville: Montgomery County Department of Public Libraries, 1974.
- Parson, Richard, ed. *Guide to Specialized Subject Collections in Maryland Libraries*. 2d ed. Baltimore: Baltimore County Public Library, 1974.

Biography (arranged alphabetically by subject's name)

- Ruckert, Robert J. "Jacob Brown's Legacy." *Glades Star* 4 (September 1974):509-13.
- White, Frank F., Jr. "James Butcher: Maryland's Forgotten Acting Governor." *Maryland and Delaware Genealogist* 15 (January 1974):6-8.
- Cox, Richard J. "George Calvert: The Man and His Motives." *Baltimore Sun Magazine*, 17 March 1974, pp. 10-15.
- Cleary, Adelaide Rogers. "John Hanson, Patriot." *Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine* 108 (October 1974):800-2.
- Jacob, Kathryn A. "Mr. Johns Hopkins" *Johns Hopkins Magazine* 25 (January 1974):13-17.
- Street, Margaret M. "A Biography of the Late Ethel Johns, LL.D." *Johns Hopkins Hospital School of Nursing Alumni Magazine* 73 (July 1974):25-6.
- Carter, Samuel, III. *The Riddle of Dr. Mudd*. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1974.
- Zselezcky, James Waters. "Anne Mynne of Hertingfordbury, Wife of George Calvert, First Lord Baltimore (1579-1622)." *Chronicles of St. Mary's* 22 (September 1974):397-99.
- Martin, Ralph G. *The Woman He Loved: The Story of the Duke and Duchess of Windsor*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1974.

Black and Indian (arranged chronologically)

- Kawashima, Yasuhide. "Indians and Southern Colonial Statutes." *Indian*

- Historian* 7 (Winter 1974):10-16.
- Lewis, Ronald L. "Slavery on Chesapeake Iron Plantations Before the American Revolution." *Journal of Negro History* 59 (July 1974):242-54.
- Silverman, Albert J. "The Chesapeake Blacks of Nova Scotia." *Baltimore Sun Magazine*, 22 September 1974, pp. 30-31.
- Smith, W. Wayne. "A Marylander in Africa: The Letters of Henry Hannon." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 69 (Winter 1974):398-404.
- Van Deburg, William L. "Frederick Douglass: Maryland Slave to Religious Liberal." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 69 (Spring 1974):27-43.
- Thomas, Bettye C. "A Nineteenth Century Black Operated Shipyard, 1866-1884: Reflections Upon Its Inception and Ownership." *Journal of Negro History* 59 (January 1974):1-12.
- Taylor, Blaine, "The Afro-American's 'House of Murphy.'" *Baltimore* 67 (December 1974):18ff.

County (arranged alphabetically by county)

- Crapster, Basil L. "Land Holdings and Buildings in Present-Day Carroll County in 1798." *Historical Society of Carroll County Newsletter* 23 (September 1974):[2-3].
- Cecil County Maryland 1608-1850 As Seen By Some Visitors and Several Essays on Local History Collected by G.E. Gifford, Jr.* Rising Sun: George E. Gifford Memorial Committee, Calvert School, 1974.
- 300th Anniversary Commemorative Booklet: Historical Sketches and Pictures of Cecil County, Maryland.* Elkton: Cecil Whig Publishing Co., 1974.
- Compton, Amy. "Ferretting Out History in Charles County: A Mini-Tour for Cars or Bikes." *Maryland* 6 (Spring 1974):6-9.
- Newman, Parsons. *Three Historical Sketches of Frederick County from its Foundations to the End of the Revolutionary Period.* Frederick: Historical Society of Frederick County, 1974.

Economics (arranged chronologically)

- Clemens, Paul G. E. "The Settlement and Growth of Maryland's Eastern Shore During the English Restoration." *Maryland Historian* 5 (Fall 1974):63-78.
- Hughes, Brent H. "How Colonists Beat the Currency Crunch." *Maryland* 7 (Autumn 1974):14-17.
- Menard, Russell R.; Harris, P. M. G.; and Carr, Lois Green. "Opportunity and Inequality: The Distribution of Wealth on the Lower Western Shore of Maryland, 1638-1705." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 69 (Summer 1974):169-84.
- Browne, Gary L. "Business Innovation and Social Change: The Career of Alexander Brown After the War of 1812." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 69 (Fall 1974):243-55.
- Killick, John. "Risk, Specialization and Profit in the Mercantile Sector of the Nineteenth Century Cotton Trade: Alexander Brown and Sons 1820-80." *Business History* 16 (January 1974):1-16.

Education and Literary (arranged chronologically)

- Haberland, Paul M. "The Reception of German Literature in Baltimore's Literary Magazines, 1800-1875." *German-American Studies* 7 (Spring 1974):69-92.
- Phillips, Jesse C. "Powell's Run Academy." *History Trails* 8, no. 3 (1974):9-11.
- George, Christopher T. "A Poe Tour of Baltimore." *Maryland* 6 (Summer 1974):24-8.
- Jacob, Kathryn A. "The Hopkins Four." *Johns Hopkins Magazine* 25 (July 1974):17-26.
- Calderwood, Paul T. "Community Schools of Garrett County." *Glades Star* 4 (June 1974):494-500; (September 1974):515-20; (December 1974):540-46.
- Kelly, Frederic. "F. Scott Fitzgerald: His Baltimore Years." *Baltimore Sun Magazine*, 14 July 1974, pp. 14-25; 21 July 1974, pp. 10-15.
- Chamberlain, John. "The Young Mencken." *Meckeniana: A Quarterly Review*, no. 50 (Summer 1974):6-8.
- Cheslock, Louis. "Some Personal Memories of H. L. M." *Meckeniana: A Quarterly Review*, No. 49 (Spring 1974):3-11.
- Hobson, Fred C., Jr. *Serpent in Eden: H. L. Mencken and the South*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1974.
- "Mencken's Baltimore." *Baltimore Sunday Sun*, 8 September 1974. [special 40-page supplement]
- Hallstead, William F. "Literary Maryland." *Maryland* 7 (Winter 1974):15-20.
- Jopp, Harold D. and Ingersoll, R. H., eds. *Shoremen: An Anthology of Eastern Shore Prose and Verse*. Cambridge: Tidewater Publishers, 1974.

Genealogy (arranged alphabetically by author's name)

- "A List of Alienations and Transfers in St. Mary's County From the Sixth Day of June 1786 to the Seventh Day of March 1829." *Chronicles of St. Mary's* 22 (February 1974):337-40; (March 1974):346-8; (April 1974):353-6; (June 1974):378-80; (September 1974):402-4; (October 1974):405-12; (December 1974):425-8.
- Armstrong, Zella, comp. *Notable Southern Families*. 3 vols. reprint. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1974.
- "Baptismal and Birth Records First & St. Stephens United Church of Christ." *Maryland Genealogical Society Bulletin* 15 (August 1974):123-37; (November 1974):240-49.
- "Baptismal and Birth Records St. Peter the Apostle Roman Catholic Church Baltimore, Maryland," *Maryland Genealogical Society Bulletin* 15 (November 1974):183-90.
- Barnes, Robert W. "Anne Arundel County, Maryland, Estate Proceedings, 1788-1798." *Maryland and Delaware Genealogist* 15 (January 1974):16.
- . "Births Recorded in St. Paul's Parish Register (Baltimore Co.) Through 1777." *Maryland and Delaware Genealogist* 15 (July 1974):58-59; (October 1974):83.
- . "Marriages in St. Paul's Parish, Kent County Maryland." *Maryland*

- Genealogical Society Bulletin* 15 (February 1974):10-15.
- . "Somerset Parish Records." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 69 (Winter 1974):418-25.
- Barnett, Mrs. G. L. "Shipley-Barnett Bible Records." *Maryland Genealogical Society Bulletin* 15 (February 1974):22-29.
- Bate, Kerry William. "Thomas Durbin of Baltimore County, Maryland." *Maryland and Delaware Genealogist* 15 (July 1974):56-57; (October 1974):80-82.
- Bittinger, Wayne. *Generations: A History of the Biddinger, Bidinger, Bittinger, & Bittner Families of Garrett County, Maryland*. Parsons, West Virginia: McClain Printing Co., 1974.
- Brinkley, John J. "Register of the West River Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends (Quaker) on the Western Shore of Maryland." *Maryland Genealogical Society Bulletin* 15 (May 1974):98-103; (August 1974):119-22; (November 1974):229-33.
- Burns, Annie Walker, comp. *Maryland Account Book Number 33, 1752*. reprint. Lutherville: Bettie Stirling Carothers, 1974.
- Captain Jeremiah Baker Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, comp. *Cecil County, Maryland Marriage Licenses, 1777-1840*. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1974.
- Chance, Hilda. "Caroline County, Maryland, Tombstone Inscriptions." *Maryland and Delaware Genealogist* 15 (January 1974):14-15; (July 1974):60-61.
- Clark, Raymond B., Jr. and Clark, Sara Seth; introduction by Mrs. Betty Worthington Briscoe. *Calvert County, Maryland, Wills, 1654-1700*. St. Michaels: n.p., 1974.
- . "Carroll County, Maryland, Marriage Licenses." *Maryland and Delaware Genealogist* 15 (July 1974):54-55; (October 1974):78-79.
- Clark, Raymond B., Jr.; introduction by Edward S. Delaplaine. *Frederick County, Maryland, Naturalizations, 1799-1850*. St. Michaels: n.p., 1974.
- Coldham, Peter Wilson. *English Convicts in Colonial America*. Vol. I, *Middlesex: 1617-1775*. New Orleans: Polyanthos, 1974.
- . "Genealogical Gleanings in England." *National Genealogical Society Quarterly* 62 (September 1974):199-212.
- "Connell Bible Records." *Maryland Genealogical Society Bulletin* 15 (August 1974):149-53.
- Cox, Richard J. "A New Source for Maryland Genealogy: John Thomas Scharf's Unpublished Biographical Dictionary of Maryland." *Maryland Genealogical Society Bulletin* 15 (August 1974):140-48.
- Dryden, Ruth T., comp. *Somerset County Maryland 1850*. El Cajon, California: n.p., 1974.
- Hamlin, John. *The Spurriers in America*. Williamstown, Massachusetts: n.p., 1974.
- "Harford County, Maryland, Wills." *Maryland and Delaware Genealogist* 15 (January 1974):12-13.
- Harris, Mrs. Norris. "Dorsey Family Records." *Maryland and Delaware Genealogist* 15 (January 1974):5.

- . "Owens-Owings Family Records." *Maryland and Delaware Genealogist* 15 (October 1974):82.
- Hinds, Virginia Horner. *Our Horner Ancestors: William of Fayette County, Pa. Son of Thomas of Baltimore County, Md., Family Genealogy Ca. 1700-1973*. Chicago: Adams Press, 1974.
- Horsey, Eleanor F. *Origins of Caroline County from Land Plats*. Vol. I. Denton: n.p., 1974.
- Humphrey, Effingham P., Jr. "Gone West." *Maryland Genealogical Society Bulletin* 15 (May 1974):85-88.
- Hutchins, Ailene Williams. "Calvert County, Maryland, Gravestone Inscriptions." *National Genealogical Society Quarterly* 62 (September 1974):192-98.
- "Index to the 1850 Mortality Schedule, Cecil County, Maryland." *Maryland Genealogical Society Bulletin* 15 (August 1974):154-56.
- Jarboe, Robert. *A History of a Jarboe Family*. Published by the author, 1974.
- Lester, Memory Aldridge, comp. *Old Southern Bible Records: Transcriptions of Births, Deaths, and Marriages from Family Bibles, Chiefly of the 18th and 19th Centuries*. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1974.
- McGee, Thomas D'Arcy. *A History of the Irish Settlers in North America from the Earliest Period to the Census of 1850*. Reprint. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1974.
- McMurry, Rhuy K. Williams. *One Branch of Our Williams Family of Maryland and Kentucky*. Published by the author, 1974.
- McVey, Charles A. "Register Family Bible Records." *Maryland Genealogical Society Bulletin* 15 (November 1974):236-39.
- Marshall, Nellie M. "Tombstone Records of Dorchester County, Maryland." *Maryland and Delaware Genealogist* 15 (January 1974):10-11; (July 1974):52-53; (October 1974):76-77.
- Meyer, Mary K. "Captain John Fulford's Company February 13, 1776, to May 21, 1777." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 69 (Spring 1974):93-97.
- . "Death Records from Richard Markland's Copy Book." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 69 (Fall 1974):323-26.
- . "Passenger Arrivals at the Port of Baltimore." *Maryland Genealogical Society Bulletin* 15 (February 1974):38-43.
- Morell, Louise Cox. *Jamestown to Washington: Little Biographies of Twelve Generations from Beheathland to Cox, 1607-1950*. Baltimore: Gateway Press, Inc., 1974.
- Morris, Philip. *The Wadeing Place: A Study of Original Property Owners in Princess Anne, Maryland, 1733-1771*. Princess Anne: Marylander and Herald, 1974.
- Penniman, Thomas D. and Waring, Malcolm M. "Baltimore County, Maryland, Land Grants." *Maryland and Delaware Genealogist* 15 (January 1974):9.
- Scott, Kenneth, comp. *Genealogical Abstracts from the American Weekly Mercury, 1719-1746*. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1974.
- Shingleton, Mrs. P. D. "Washington County, Maryland, Balance Books: Estates." *Maryland and Delaware Genealogist* 15 (January 1974):17; (July 1974):63; (October 1974):85.

- Skordas, Gust, ed.; introduction by Morris L. Radoff. *The Early Settlers of Maryland; An Index to Names of Immigrants Compiled from Records of Land Patents, 1633-1680, in the Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland*. Reprint. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1974.
- Smith, Clifford Neal. *Mercenaries from Ansbuch and Bayreuth, Germany, Who Remained in America After the Revolution*. German-American Genealogical Research Monographs, no. 2. Thomson, Illinois: Heritage House, 1974.
- "Somerset County, Maryland—1800 Census." *Maryland Genealogical Society Bulletin* 15 (August 1974):163-69; (November 1974):250-57.
- "Somerset County, Maryland, Tombstone Inscriptions." *Maryland Genealogical Society Bulletin* 15 (May 1974):67-73.
- "Talbot County Maryland 1800 Census," *Maryland Genealogical Society Bulletin* 15 (February 1974):1-9.
- "The Barlett and Orem Family Bible of Talbot County, Maryland." *Maryland and Delaware Genealogist* 15 (July 1974):68.
- "The Downer Home." *Kent Shoreman* 9 (July 1974):1-19.
- Tull, Willis Clayton, Jr. "Tombstone Inscriptions of St. Stephen's Church." *Maryland Genealogical Society Bulletin* 15 (February 1974):29-31.
- . "Worcester County, Maryland, Tombstone Inscriptions." *Maryland and Delaware Genealogist* 15 (January 1974):18; (July 1974):62; (October 1974):84.
- Uhrbrock, Richard S. "Pilchers (Pilchards) and Reddens of Delmarva." *Virginia Genealogist* 18 (July-September 1974):187-95.
- "Vital Records of the First & St. Stephens United Church of Christ of Baltimore, Maryland." *Maryland Genealogical Society Bulletin* 15 (February 1974):32-38; (May 1974):104-12.
- Wilson, George B. "St. John's Parish Register Book." *Maryland Genealogical Society Bulletin* 15 (February 1974):44-55.
- Wilson, Woodrow T. *Thirty Four Families of Old Somerset County, Maryland*. Baltimore: Gateway Press, Inc., 1974.
- Wright, John Charles. *Wright-Briscoe Pioneers*. Arlington, Virginia: Wright-Briscoe, Publishers, 1974.

Geography (arranged chronologically)

- Porter, Frank W., III. "Expanding the Domain: William Gooch and the Northern Neck Boundary Dispute." *Maryland Historian* 5 (Spring 1974):1-13.
- Morrison, Charles. *An Outline of the Maryland Boundary Disputes and Related Events*. Parsons, West Virginia: McClain Printing Co., 1974.
- Charmatz, Betty. "Geographical Perspectives in Poverty: A Baltimore Case Study." *Letters & Papers in the Social Science: An Undergraduate Review* 1 (Spring 1974):13-29.

Legal (arranged chronologically)

- Yackel, Peter G. "Benefit of Clergy in Colonial Maryland." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 69 (Winter 1974):383-97.
- Winitsky, Marvin Laurence. "Roger B. Taney: A Historiographical Inquiry."

Maryland Historical Magazine 69 (Spring 1974):1-26.

Rottier, Catherine M. "Ellen Spencer Mussey and the Washington College of Law." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 69 (Winter 1974):361-82.

Maritime (arranged chronologically)

"The Logs of Percy E. Budlong: Canoe Trips to Indian Head, Craney Island and Bretton Bay 1906-1907." *Chronicles of St. Mary's* 22 (May 1974):357-72; (June 1974):373-75.

Burgess, Robert H. *Chesapeake Sailing Craft: The Fifty-Year Period 1924-1974, Part One*. Cambridge: Tidewater Publishers, 1974.

Waesche, James F. "The Port That Built the City." *Baltimore* 67 (July):25-31.

Medicine and Science (arranged chronologically)

Carroll, Douglas. "Medical Students 1818 and 1834." *Maryland State Medical Journal* 23 (February 1974):37-42.

———. "A Botanist's Visit to Baltimore in 1835." *Maryland State Medical Journal* 23 (April 1974):49-55.

"Famous 19th Century Astronomer Founder and Teacher at Sudlersville School." *Kent Shoremen* 9 (September 1974):31ff. [Simon Newcomb, 1835-1909]

Fitzsimons, Mrs. Neal. "The Audubon Naturalist Society and Its Home, Woodend" *Montgomery County Story* 17 (August 1974):1-11.

Turner, Thomas B. "William Henry Welch, Medical Statesman for Hopkins." *Johns Hopkins Magazine* 25 (May 1974):29-33.

———. *Heritage of Excellence: The Johns Hopkins Medical Institutions, 1914-1947*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974.

Rosenwaikie, Ira and Melton, Robert J. "Legal Abortion and Fertility in Maryland, 1960-1971." *Demography* 11 (August 1974):377-95.

Military (arranged chronologically)

Batt, Richard J. "Maryland's 'Brave Fellows': A Reputation for Bravery is Won." *Maryland* 7 (Winter 1974):29-33.

Cockey, Genevieve Frazer. "Minutemen of the Eastern Shore." *Kent Shoreman* 9 (November 1974):47ff.

Crandall, Gilbert. "The Bayonets of the Revolution: The First Maryland Brigade." *Americana* 1 (January 1974):11-15.

McGrain, John W. "Defense Efforts at Dorsey's Forge." *History Trails* 8 (Summer 1974):13-16.

Edward, Brother C. "The U.S.S. Constellation." *American History Illustrated* 9 (April 1974):12-25.

Jenkins, Edmund E. "USF Constellation—A Ship of Destiny." *Chesapeake Bay Magazine* 4 (July 1974):6-9.

McCauley, Robert H., Jr. "A U.S. Revenue Marine Officer's Uniform, ca 1855." *Military Collector & Historian* 26 (Spring 1974):21-23.

Allen, Bob. "Point Lookout: Andersonville North." *Baltimore Sun Magazine*, 28

April 1974, pp. 18-23.

Brennan, John C. "General Bradley T. Johnson's Plan to Abduct President Lincoln." *Chronicles of St. Mary's* 22 (November 1974):413-20; (December 1974):421-25.

Politics (arranged chronologically)

Papenfuse, Edward C.; Jordan, David W.; Tilles, Carol P.; and McWilliams, Jane W. *Directory of Maryland Legislators 1635-1789*. Annapolis: Maryland Bicentennial Commission, 1974.

Carr, Lois Green and Jordan, David William. *Maryland's Revolution of Government, 1689-1692*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974.

Gipe, George A. "A Moderator in Immoderate Times." *Maryland* 6 (Spring 1974):26-29. [Sir Robert Eden]

Hoffman, Ronald. "Maryland's Role in the Revolutionary War." *Maryland* 6 (Spring 1974):25.

Nash, Gary B. "Revolution on the Chesapeake." *Reviews in American History* 2 (September 1974):373-78.

Onuf, Peter S., ed. *Maryland and the Empire, 1773: The Antillon-First Citizen Letters*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974.

Porter, Kent. "200 Years Ago, Maryland's Tea Party." *Baltimore Sun Magazine*, 13 October 1974, pp. 36-37.

Vivian, Jean H. "Thomas Stone and the Reorganization of the Maryland Council of Safety, 1776." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 69 (Fall 1974):271-78.

Boles, John B. "Politics, Intrigue, and the Presidency: James McHenry to Bishop John Carroll, May 16, 1800." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 69 (Spring 1974):64-85.

Evitts, William J. *A Matter of Allegiances: Maryland From 1850 to 1861*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974.

"Please Tell Me What Is There of the Maryland Matter?" *Lincoln Lore* no. 1638 (August 1974).

Azzaretto, John F. *A Study of Local Government Organization: Calvert County, Maryland*. College Park: Maryland Technical Advisory Service, Bureau of Governmental Research, University of Maryland, 1974.

Bard, Harry. *Maryland State and Government: Its New Dynamics*. Cambridge: Tidewater Publishers, 1974.

Skok, James E. "Participation in Decision Making: The Bureaucracy and the Community." *Western Political Quarterly* 27 (March 1974):60-79. [Montgomery and Prince George's Counties]

Religion (arranged chronologically)

Golden, Harry. "The First Kennedy." In *Our Southern Landsmen*, pp. 60-68. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1974. [Thomas Kennedy]

Grant, Patricia K. "Mother Seton, Miracles and the Road that Could Lead to Sainthood." *Baltimore Sun Magazine*, 31 March 1974, pp. 5ff.

McCullough, Raymond O., Jr. "A Brief History of Mercy Chapel." *Glades Star* 4

(December 1974):529ff.

Hawkins, Nora. "Friendship Methodist Episcopal Church, South." *Anne Arundel County History Notes* 5 (April 1974): [1-5].

Perkins, Rev. Russell H. *The Seed Has Grown to Harvest: Centenary of St. Rose of Lima Mission 1874-1974 Chesapeake City, Maryland*. Hackensack, New Jersey: Custombook, Inc., 1974.

Social and Cultural (arranged chronologically)

Walsh, Lorena S. and Menard, Russell R. "Death in the Chesapeake: Two Life Tables for Men in Early Colonial Maryland." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 69 (Summer 1974):211-27.

Breslaw, Elaine G. "Merrymaking in Old Annapolis: The Tuesday Club." *Baltimore Sun Magazine*, 24 March 1974, pp. 22-33.

Goodwin, Louise Bland. "Chattolantee Hotel and Springs." *History Trails* 8, no. 1 (1974):4.

Headley, Robert Kirk, Jr. *Exit: A History of Movies in Baltimore*. Published by the author, 1974.

Harris, JoAnn, "Claire McCardell: Maryland's Fashion Prophet." *Maryland* 7 (Winter 1974):2-5.

Ford, Everett and Janice. *Pre-Prohibition Beer Bottles & Breweries of Baltimore, Maryland*. Published by the authors, 1974.

[Heyl, Edgar G.] *The Baltimore Bibliophiles 1954-1974*. Baltimore: Evergreen House, 1974.

Sports (arranged chronologically)

"The Hyer-Sullivan Match." *Kent Shoreman* 9 (September 1974):45-47.

Creamer, Robert W. *Babe: The Legend Comes to Life*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1974.

Kelly, Frederic. "The Babe Ruth Claire Knew." *Baltimore Sun Magazine*, 21 April 1974, pp. 20-25.

Wagenheim, Karl. *Babe Ruth: His Life and Legend*. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1974.

Carter, Snowden. "Maryland's Golden Era of Foxhunting." *Maryland Horse* 40 (May 1974):64-68.

Robinson, Brooks, as told to Jack Tobin. *Third Base is My Home*. Waco, Texas: Word Books, 1974.

Transportation (arranged chronologically)

Akehurst, S. Virginia and Akehurst, Eva E. "The Yeoho Road." *History Trails* 8 (no. 1, 1974):1-3.

Newell, Dianne. "The Short-Lived Phenomenon of Railroad Station-Hotels." *Historic Preservation* (July-September 1974):31-36.

Doherty, William T., Jr. "Berkeley's Non-revolution: Law and Order and the Great Railway Strikes of 1877." *West Virginia History* 35 (July 1974):271-89.

White, Roger B. "The W.B. & A.: A Short Outline of the Short Line." *Anne*

Arundel County History Notes 5 (April 1974):[3-4].

Ellenberger, William J. "History of the Street Car Lines of Montgomery County." *Montgomery County Story* 17 (May 1974):1-10.

Acton, Lucy. "The Museum of the Iron Horse." *Baltimore* 67 (May 1974):38ff.

Urban and Town History (arranged alphabetically by name of town)

Burdett, Harold N. *Yesterday in Annapolis*. Cambridge: Tidewater Publishers, 1974.

Tunnell, Daniel R. and Hechtlinger, Adelaide. "Life in Annapolis." *Early American Life* 5 (October 1974):24-27; (December 1974):34-39.

Bernard, Richard M. "A Portrait of Baltimore in 1800: Economic and Occupational Patterns in an Early American City." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 69 (Winter 1974):341-60.

Darin, Grace. "The Story of Charles Village: The Building of a Community (1967-1974)." In *Charles Village Journal*, pp. 6-18. Baltimore: Charles Village Civic Association, 1974.

Dehler, Katherine B. "Mt. Vernon Place at the Turn of the Century: A Vignette of the Garrett Family." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 69 (Fall 1974):279-92.

Eager, Elizabeth H. "A Marquis'-Eye View of Baltimore." *Baltimore* 67 (November 1974):24ff.

Gray, Ralph D. and Hartdagen, Gerald E. "A Glimpse of Baltimore Society in 1827: Letters by Henry D. Gilpin." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 69 (Fall 1974):256-70.

Houstle, Arch E., Jr. "Mount Washington... Baltimore's 'Highly Salubrious Rural Retreat.'" *Baltimore* 67 (January 1974):29-37.

Nurnberger, Ralph D. "The Great Baltimore Deluge of 1817." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 69 (Winter 1974):405-8.

Sandler, Gilbert. *The Neighborhood: The Story of Baltimore's Little Italy*. Baltimore: Bodine and Associates, Inc., 1974.

Hooper, Anne B. *Braddock Heights: A Glimpse Backward*. Published by the author, 1974.

Chambers, Miriam P. *Centreville in the Early 20th Century*. Centreville: Corsica Bookshop, 1974.

Brooks, Richard O. *New Towns and Communal Values: A Case Study of Columbia, Maryland*. New York: Praeger, 1974.

Filby, Vera. "The History of Friendship." *Anne Arundel County History Notes* 5 (January 1974):[4]; 6 (October 1974):[3-4].

Walters, Clara Virginia. "History of Galena." *Kent Shoreman* 9 (July 1974):25ff.

Goodwin, Louise Bland. "The Story of Glencoe." *History Trails* 8 (no. 3, 1974):12.

"History of New Yarmouth." *Kent Shoreman* 9 (October 1974):55ff.

St. Mary's City Commission. *St. Mary's City: A Plan for the Outdoor Museum*. St. Mary's City: April 1974.

Carr, Lois Green. "'The Metropolis of Maryland': A Comment on Town Development Along the Tobacco Coast." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 69

(Summer 1974):123-45.

"Early History of Tolchester." *Kent Shoreman* 9 (September 1974):41ff.

Curry, Leonard P. "Urbanization and Urbanism in the Old South: A Comparative View." *Journal of Southern History* 40 (February 1974):43-60.

Genealogica Marylandia

MARYLAND MUSTER ROLLS 1757-1758

Continued from Vol. 70, No. 1.

MARY K. MEYER

A MUSTER ROLL OF THE COMPANY OF FOOT IN THE MARYLAND FORCES COMMANDED BY CAPT. FRAS. WARE

	Fras. Ware	Capt.	
	Thos. Stoddert ³³	1st Lieut.	
	Alex Somervell	2nd Lieut.	
	Rezen Beall	Ensign	
George Barnce ³⁴	} Serjts.	Saml. Jacobs	} Corpols.
William Cavanaugh		Wm. Henderson	
Peter Pearce		Wm. Murphy ³⁵	
Benjn. Musgroves ¹		John White ³⁴	
William Henderson ³⁵		Thos. Simpson ³⁶	
Farewell Havens, Drummer		Thos. Evens ³⁷	
Thomas Farrell	Joseph Francis	William Arvin ¹	
Thos. Hughes	James Linton	Frans. Madden ¹	
Nathaniel Foreman	James Marshall	Stephin Tucker ¹	
Richd. Tandy	Philip Blake	John Norress ¹	
James Mcneall	John Hock	Richd. Tomlison ¹	
John Cole	Joseph Loflin	John Compton ¹	
Edward Baswell	Thos. Fahee ¹	John McKinney ¹	
Collen Thompson	John Russel ¹	Richd. Freeman ¹	
Rrans. Rowell	John Gassett ¹	Sabright Egington ¹	
Sabret Gray	Richd. Flanagan ¹	Alex Wilkinson ¹	
Edward Dugmore	Richd. Gerret ¹	Thos. Williamson ¹	
William Bryan	Richd. Thomas	John Migenta ¹	
John Brightwell	Thos. Hellen ¹	Charles Mosley ¹	
John Rowles ¹	Joseph Harres ¹	Wm. Jestes ³	
Neal Carmichael ¹	Robt. Burns ¹	Richd. Buckinham ³	
Thos. Russell ¹	Thos. Jones ¹	Thos. Lee ³	
Samuel Deane ¹	George Wright ¹	Thos. Evens ^{4, 37}	
Even Evens ¹	James Hill ¹	Thos. Simpson ^{1, 37}	
Benjn. Freeman ¹	John Hendly ¹	William Nelson ⁴	
Peter Hasty ¹	Esaiaas Freeman ¹	John Jones ⁴	
John Keech ¹	George Naylor ¹	John Ramsey ⁴	
Edward White ¹	Benjn. Bird ¹	Samuel Powell ⁴	

James Cliff¹
 John Glibra¹
 John Porter¹
 Edward Forde¹

Zachariah Scott¹
 George Knight¹
 John Carr¹

James Simpson³⁸
 John Dorret³⁴
 John Simpson³⁴

Fort Frederick March 8th 1758

Mu[s]tered Men in a company of Foot Commanded by Capt. Francis Ware. The captain, second Lieutenant, one sarjent, two Corps., and the Drummer & nineteen Private men for the whole Muster being twenty Eight days, besides one officer abst. with Leave. The Ensigns, two Sarjts. & forty-five Private men on Commd., four sick & four on furlough & for which Certificates are given on the back of this Roll. This Muster Commences the 9th of Feby. & Ends the 8th of March, both Days Encluded. The Remd. of the men are Mustered for there broken time as agst. there Names for which Certificates are given on the back of this Roll.

G. Ross, Comry.

Fras. Ware
 Alexr. Sumervill

A MUSTER ROLL OF A COMPANY OF FOOT IN THE MARYLAND FORCES
COMMANDED BY CAPT. ALEXD. BEALL

	Alexd. Beall	Captain	
	Henry Prather	1st Lieut.	
	Burr Harrison	2nd Lieut.	
	Barton Lucas	Ensign	
	Henry Hunzman	Surgeon	
Henry Fields	} Sarjts.	Saml. Harnwood	} Corpr.
Brill: Pindol		Mordica Mading	
Willm. Pedycort		Thos. Harwood	
Alexd. Monroe		George Colmore	
James McGorden	John Roberts	Thos. Fitzpatrick	
John Littrout	James Neale	Jacob Lamaster	
Willm. King	James Webb	Duglass Prince	
John Lanson	Saml. Eads	John Maxwell	
Morris Fitzgarld	Henry Hope	George Teater ¹	
Edwd. Beall	Robt. Plunket	Benja. Hughman ¹	
Jacob Hurst	James Rymore	James Brinkly ¹	
Robt. Shaw	Willm. Matthews	Saml. Freeman ¹	
Charles Suter	Wm. Thompson	Jonathon Hill ¹	
Richd. Howard	Hugh Grimes	Edwd. Harkins ¹	
Aron Love	Thos. Barker	Dunkin Jonston ¹	
Willm. Meeks ¹	George Purmel ¹	Thos. Winfield ¹	
Edwd. Mason ¹	McCarty Smith ¹	James Thetcherside ⁴	
Saml. Pickeral ¹	Willm. Vaug ¹		

Annapolis, December ye 30th 1758

Mustered then in ye Company of Foot Commanded by Captain Alexd. Beall. The Captain, Two Lieuts., Ensigne, Surgeon, four Serjants, four Corporals & Twenty Six Private men for ye whole muster being 52 days, Besides fourteen Private men on

Command at Fort Cumberland and one Private man on Furlough. This Muster Commences on the 9th day of November and ends the Thirtieth Day of December, Both Days Included. And I do moreover (by the order of His Excellency, Horatio Sharpe, Esqr.) Certify that the Company of Which Captain Alexr. Beall had the Command was Disbanded ye sd. 30th Day of Decembr. at Which Time the Commissary could not Attend to Muster it. And that ye Private men were on Command & on Furlough as set down against their Respective names on ye face of ye above Roll and that they were Effective in Capt. Alexd. Bealls Company for ye Whole Muster. In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand.

Jos. Beall, Captain

-
1. On Command
 3. Sick
 4. On Furlough
 33. Leave of absence Febry. 27th [1758]
 34. *Discharged Febry. 16th [1758]*
 35. Promoted to serjant Febry. 17th [1758]
 36. Promoted to Corpl. Febry. 17th [1758]
 37. Promoted to Corpl. Febry 18th [1758]
 38. Deceased Febry. 8th [1758]

Reviews of Recent Books

Colonial New Jersey: A History. By John E. Pomfret. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973. Pp. 327. \$10.00.)

Beginning students of colonial America face an unenviable task: the period is large, the colonies, settled separately, develop at different speeds with different groups in charge. The factions are many and their fights meaningful because they set precedents in a new land. Worst of all for the student is colonial New Jersey, where in the complicated early years there are two Jerseys, an East and a West, two groups of proprietors, Eastern Scots and Western Quakers. (That some eastern Quakers become Anglicans—thank God they don't move west, too—does not help). Here especially no one could tell the players without a historical scorecard. Dr. Pomfret, who has written extensively about Proprietary New Jersey, untangles opposing teams and makes sense out of early events, although, no matter how clear his story, readers who allow themselves to be bogged down by names will still be somewhat confused.

Dr. Pomfret writes with remarkable skill and succinctness about New Jersey's growth and political development. From the time of settlement the colonists gave notice that they were not so grateful for new economic or religious opportunity that they would be content to be ruled by others. The first rebellion occurred in 1672 after the proprietary governor began collecting quitrents and admitting as freemen only those he pleased. Deputies called their own meeting and elected a new governor. That rebellion was put down, but trouble continued. In later years, mobs seemingly attacked courts at will, freeing what amounted to political prisoners, Lewis Morris one time, his enemies another. Through the chaos, as Dr. Pomfret describes it, self-government flourished, although one may take issue with his statement that internal discord and factionalism hurt the colony. In a sense it may have. The colony might have developed more quickly had there been no friction, but it is just as true that given the quality of New Jersey's rulers—like Lord Cornbury who was sent over by England after the proprietors lost their right to govern—it was only the factionalism that saved the colony and colonists from oppression. Lord Cornbury's ring, milking the government and proprietors, demonstrated clearly how people in power behaved. When Lewis Morris became governor, disregarded his instructions, and named to the council only easterners, relatives, and cronies, with fellow proprietors dominating the Supreme Court, only factionalism or opposition to him kept the people relatively free.

It should have been obvious to the British that New Jersey settlers, like Americans in general, would not welcome any limitation of their rights to govern themselves, even if they might go about protecting themselves in different ways. William Franklin, royal governor for more than a decade, did what he could to keep the colony loyal, but he could not succeed. Dr. Pomfret describes well the progress of the colony towards Revolution, and he completes the story with a brief account of the war and its aftermath.

Much of the value of Dr. Pomfret's book lies in his ability to place New Jersey history in the context of English and American history. Nothing is seen in a vacuum, which is quite an achievement in a book of this size. A great many topics are treated: slavery, education, religious diversity, and architecture are among them. The only serious omission is a more sophisticated discussion of the lives of the people, what their days and years were like, what men did, what women did. But given the virtues of the book, the years and topics covered, that is a minor flaw.

As an introduction to New Jersey history, and through New Jersey to the history of colonial America, this book is ideal.

University of Maine at Orono

JEROME NADELHAFT

Robert Dinwiddie: Servant of the Crown. By John R. Alden. (Williamsburg: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, distributed by the University Press of Virginia, 1973. Pp. x, 126. \$5.95.)

John R. Alden's gracefully written biographical study is a useful addition to the growing number of monographs on the dynamics of executive leadership in pre-Revolutionary America. Concentrating on the Virginia governorship of Robert Dinwiddie (1751-1757), Alden points up many of the long term, underlying causes of the American Revolution developed in broader works by Leonard Labaree, Jack P. Greene, and Bernard Bailyn.

Born and educated in Scotland, Dinwiddie rose through commercial success to social and political prominence, first in Bermuda and later in Virginia. His advancement to a governorship was neither meteoric nor brilliant. But Dinwiddie shared certain characteristics with other royal officials. First, his political career rested on the establishment and cultivation of useful connections in England. Second, he was the deputy, not titular governor of the colony. Indeed, Dinwiddie paid £3,300 a year to the official governor, William Anne Keppel, earl of Albermarle. Finally, he found himself in ongoing conflict with colonial, assembly-dominated politics. This latter point is stressed by Alden in his examination of the controversies that dominated Dinwiddie's administration: the use of Virginia tax receipts for English purposes; the struggle for preferment between Reverend Thomas Dawson and Reverend William Stith; Dinwiddie's attempt to institute and collect a pistole fee and his demand that patented land be quitrented; and the disastrous attempts to curb French pretensions in the Ohio Valley. In each case the governor remained utterly British in viewpoint, unable "to become a broadminded statesman who could see Virginia and America as did the Virginians and Americans" (p. 19). Alden convincingly argues that Dinwiddie was, above all, an old school imperialist who continually sought to assert and expand British authority. That effort continued following the governor's resignation and retirement to England. In common with other colonial administrators, such as Thomas Pownall and William Knox, Dinwiddie favored additional navigation acts, the recalling of the proprietary charters, a union of the colonies into confederacies, and some form of parliamentary taxation. Death in 1770 deprived him of seeing the revolutionary results of parliamentary vigor.

Alden has produced a valuable and well-researched study which in most respects supercedes Louis K. Koontz's *Robert Dinwiddie: His Career in American Colonial Government and Westward Expansion* (1941). Credit is also due to the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. Alden's book is a volume in the Foundation's Williamsburg in America Series—a useful collection for both specialists and the general reader and one that avoids Bicentennial hucksterism.

University of Santa Clara

MILES M. MERVIN

The Loyalists in Revolutionary America, 1760-1781. By Robert McCluer Calhoon. (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1973. Pp. 580. \$17.50.)

This is a scholarly, immensely useful, often insightful but ultimately incomplete and unsatisfying study of the American Loyalists. In the first half of the book the author examines the ideas, attitudes, circumstances, and motivations of twenty-one leading opponents of colonial resistance in the years before 1776, and also such background matters as British colonial policy, Quaker pacifism, Anglican aspirations in the New World, and the political culture of the colonies. Thus good sketches of Cadwallader Colden, James Wright of Georgia, Daniel Dulany, Samuel Seabury, and many others give us an excellent view of "the Tory mind" that in many ways and for many reasons opposed Independence. Then, in a shift of approach, Calhoon turns to what the Loyalists did, and

what happened to them during the War of the Revolution. In a remarkable tour de force he manages to describe the essential posture and conduct of the Loyalists in each colony, as well as placing them carefully in the context of British politics and military strategy. Altogether the book vastly increases our knowledge of the Loyalists and will be used by scholars and students for many years.

There is, for example, an incisive chapter on the "reasonableness" of Tory opposition to the movement of Independence: if one valued order and harmony in society, if one believed in the efficacy of lawful processes of change, if one had faith in the good will of leaders in London as well as in Boston, and if one understood the depth of English national identity in the colonies and the danger and trauma of "declaring" a new one, then Loyalist arguments were cogent indeed. We need to see this case in full force if we are to understand the American Revolution. In regional case studies of Barnstable, Massachusetts, and the Hudson Valley of New York, Calhoun makes superb use of monographs and also helps us to see what was happening among common people, who, for reasons as various as among leaders, retained substantial loyalty to the crown during the Revolution. A rich sense of the origins, motivations, and vicissitudes of American Loyalism emerges.

Though the author is generally sensitive to the role ideas play in history, there are lapses. His handling of the Great Awakening, for example, emphasizing in it a caricatured Calvinism of materialism, brittle individualism, and human sinfulness, fails to grasp its social radicalism, its exaltation of spiritual union, and its sense of mission that made it far more a departure from earlier Calvinism than an extension of it. It is also irritating to find otherwise penetrating studies of Jonathan Boucher and Peter Oliver marred by unnecessary excursions into "psychohistory." Dubious speculations about Boucher's "remarkable escape from an obscure and humble childhood" and "his image of himself as a man of unpredictable dramatic impulses" (p. 231), distract the reader from an otherwise lucid exposition of his political thought. Similarly, preoccupation with thoroughly conventional "images" of the violence of nature and the nearness of death in Oliver's *Origin and Progress of the American Rebellion* wastes space that might be used more helpfully in a straightforward probing of Oliver's reaction to the events and personalities of the Revolution.

Overall, though, the least satisfying aspect of the book is its incompleteness despite its length and wealth of detail—or one might even say *because* of them. There are forty-eight chapters on thirteen colonies and hundreds of people and thousands of incidents, but no themes strong enough to keep the book from being much more than an encyclopedia of Loyalism. As such it is valuable, but it is not a full, interpretative history. Furthermore, even to provide us the basic information, a third section is needed on what happened to the Loyalists after the war—the book ends abruptly, as though the author (or perhaps his publisher) simply decided it was long enough at more than 500 pages. Thus, Calhoun has performed a prodigious, useful labor in telling as much of the story as he has, but we need additionally a completion of the record of events and consequences through the 1780s, and then a critical history of American Loyalism at once shorter and more comprehensive than this volume.

Syracuse University

RALPH KETCHAM

Thomas Jefferson: An Intimate History. By Fawn M. Brodie. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1974. Pp. 591. \$12.50.)

Few recent books have enjoyed a more successful promotion, or won more popular reviews, than Brodie's *Jefferson*. In form, this is a scholarly biography, tied to primary sources and replete with notes. But because of the use or misuse of evidence, it is close to a

historical novel or a fictionalized biography. A more appropriate title might be: *Forbidden Fruits: The Secret Loves of Thomas Jefferson*, for the book revolves around Jefferson's relationship to four women (his mother, his wife, his lovable Paris playmate, Maria Cosway, and his comely slave and alleged concubine, Sally Hemings).

Brodie organizes her book around Jefferson's public career, but tries to use new insights into his private life to explain his political contributions. Beyond the added psychological dimension, her biography lacks subtlety and distinction, and by its very superficiality will disappoint Jefferson scholars. Brodie has no understanding of eighteenth century thought; I cannot imagine a more sophomoric and presentist treatment of Jefferson's religious and political beliefs. Brodie accepts Jefferson as a child of the "Enlightenment," as a true revolutionary, as a spokesman for libertarian theory, as a religious iconoclast and Deist, and as a great democrat, but in all cases begs the immense definitional problems that lurk behind such useless labels and also the shifting enthusiasms that make it so difficult to place Jefferson in any clear theoretical tradition. By selective appeal to his more famous letters or public papers, Brodie reveals a Jefferson much more sanguine about man, more hopeful about the future, than a fuller reading permits. This allows her to draw sharp polarities between him and John Adams and Alexander Hamilton, and to obscure the major areas of overlap in their thought.

Any judgment on the merit of this book has to rest on its acknowledged purpose—to discover the complex person behind the public mask. More often than not, I suspect that Brodie created rather than discovered the real and hidden Jefferson. Either way, the book reveals a guilt-ridden, often tormented, and ultimately tragic man. It plays on the dark and somber undertones that both helped shape and then highlight the bright and glittering public achievement. In the early chapters, Brodie searches among the meager artifacts for clues as to Jefferson's relationship to his parents. Drawing on suggested but not explicit psychological themes, borrowed in part from the highly speculative theories of Erik Erikson, she finds early sources of resentment and guilt, particularly in Jefferson's dominating mother. Brodie deals gently with Jefferson's marriage to Martha Wayles Skelton. The evidence allows no full portrait of Martha, but it does document the immense impact of domestic worries upon Jefferson's checkered political career. Apparently because of theories about normal sexual behavior, rather than any direct evidence, Brodie assumes that Jefferson had an adulterous affair with Maria Cosway. Jefferson's letters certainly attest to the seriousness of this brief Paris infatuation, and at least make such added speculation almost believable (I still feel compelled to suspend judgment). From this point on, and in the most dramatic chapters of the book, Brodie drops all reticence or restraint. She weaves a complex story around not an alleged but an assumed liaison between Jefferson and Sally Hemings. By Brodie's account, this love affair began in Paris, led to five non-acknowledged sons and daughters, and continued until Jefferson's death.

The only direct evidence for Jefferson's illicit affair with Hemings is the original, politically motivated charges by an alienated and paranoid publisher, James Callender, which caused a considerable stir during Jefferson's presidency, and a ghosted account in 1873 by two former Monticello slaves, one a son of Sally who proudly claimed Jefferson as his father. Brodie documents one necessary condition for taking these allegations seriously—Jefferson was in the same household with Sally at the time of each conception. Beyond that, we have no direct evidence. The absence of such, and the seeming difficulty of Jefferson successfully concealing an affair of over three decades, has led most historians to discount the allegations. But no one can prove a negative. Careful historians have no alternative but to suspend final judgment. Since Brodie early castigates them for

reticence, I assumed she was prepared to offer dramatic new proof. She does not. Instead of carefully marshalling evidence for the liaison, she almost always assumes it and makes it the key to Jefferson's later life. Having assumed the affair, Brodie spends much time trying to account for the suppression of all direct evidence, as if this "curious" absence lends a type of confirmation to the assumed relationship. Not only Jefferson's public stand on issues, but his relationship to his two daughters take on new meaning in light of Sally and her children. Jefferson's domestic joy in Sally helps erode his early commitment to emancipation, prevents him from freeing his own slaves, and pulls him deeper and deeper into a type of moral hypocrisy—a democrat in public, a despot at Monticello.

Almost all the drama of the book rests on an illicit love affair that may never have occurred. Brodie's convoluted arguments, her painfully obvious special pleading, her contrived use of evidence, her recourse to obscure symbolism hurt rather than help her case. I am now much less willing to give credence to the story than before I read the book. Too often she has to read deep and sinister implications into innocent words (she documents the beginning of the secret love by Jefferson's more frequent use of "mulatto" to characterize French soils), or resorts to such hedging statements as "it can be argued that" or "the possibility can be suggested." She defines much of her evidence as "psychological," which begs the empirical validity of unstated psychological theories that determine what is evidence, the degree of probability that such theories bestow upon symbolic evidence, and the clinical skill of Brodie in interpreting such evidence. When so much has to be begged, one has moved far beyond the discipline of history, beyond the theoretical and conceptual precision, the rigorous logic, the confirming evidence demanded by any form of empirical inquiry.

Yet, Brodie's Jefferson demands Hemings. The affair is an essential clue to the man she portrays, more essential even than the external story. Without Sally, Brodie would have to start over and construct a quite different and much less complex man. Thus, by the standards of historical inquiry, Brodie's heretofore hidden Jefferson has to be dismissed as a fictional character, a product of her rich imagination mingled with elusive psychological speculation. But what is most saddening to me is not Brodie's failure to adhere to the logical and evidential standards of our discipline (journalists and literary biographers violate these all the time), but rather the alacrity with which a gullible lay public certifies such presentist distortion or unproveable speculation as a legitimate or even a normative example of historical understanding.

University of Wisconsin

PAUL K. CONKIN

America: The Middle Period. Essays in Honor of Bernard Mayo. Edited by John B. Boles. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1973. Pp. 278. \$8.50.)

Bernard Mayo is a master stylist, was an extraordinarily fine teacher, and remains a conscientious scholar. No one who has been associated with Professor Mayo has failed to be impressed with both his human and professional intellectual qualities. He impressed his students with the depth and breadth of his learning. Pendleton Gaines has written in this volume a kind appreciation of his taskmaster professor. Mayo frightened his new graduate students with his bibliographic demands—which if taken literally was a life-time of reading, and no doubt was meant to be so.

The fifteen essays in this book constitute a diorama of essay writing about the mid-nineteenth century in American history. J. Edwin Hendricks has written a thoroughly enlightening essay on Charles Thomson and "A New Order of the Ages." It would

indeed embarrass most American historians if they were asked to identify Charles Thomson, Secretary to the Continental Congress, and deviser of *Novus Ordo Seclorum*. His influence, however, reached far beyond a search for a fitting motto for the new nation. For instance his scientific interest had an impact upon the formation of the prestigious American Philosophical Society. He also contributed an article appended to Thomas Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia*.

Two other essays have substantial enlightening qualities. George Green Shackelford's "Thomas Jefferson and the Fine Arts of Northern Italy: A Peep into Elysium," brings into clearer and more succinct perspective this aspect of Jefferson's catholic taste in the fields of art and architecture. The author thinks the universities of Turin, Milan, and Pavia had some important bearing on Jefferson's design for the University of Virginia. John S. Pancake's article on "Alexander Hamilton as Public Administrator: A Reappraisal" is of substantive revisive value. Hamilton's indiscretions were as impressive as his successes, and viewed through the eyes of John S. Pancake, "Alexander Hamilton may have been dead before Burr's bullet ever reached its mark."

By singling out the above essays the reviewer in no sense overlooks the significance of others. The list of selections is concluded with Robert A. Brent's brief appraisal, "Nicholas P. Trist: A Discredited Diplomat Vindicated." This essay presents a description of the tragic career of a proud and dedicated career diplomat who disobeyed President James K. Polk's orders and possibly changed the course of one aspect of the United States's occupation of the Southwest, and its relations with Mexico. The author speculates on the possible dramatic results to the nation had Trist obeyed presidential instructions. Beyond this there is the human story of Trist's long and patient attempt to collect his expense account.

All of the essays in this volume are substantial documentation of the good quality of historical training which Bernard Mayo's students received in his courses and seminars. They give substance to Pendleton Gaines's appraisal of his professor's capabilities and frightening propensities as a critical scholar. A *festschrift* of this nature is ample justification for its publication. While far-ranging and loosely related, the essays of necessity run a variegated thread of scholarship through a dramatic period in American history. They run the course from truly local concerns of Virginia history to the broader ones of the nation in what must still be considered the formative years.

University of Indiana

THOMAS D. CLARK

Free Men All: The Personal Liberty Laws of the North, 1780-1861. By Thomas D. Morris. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974. Pp. xii, 253. \$12.50.)

Thomas D. Morris has written a very interesting and useful book about the personal liberty laws in five northern states during the eight years prior to the Civil War. This subject has received scant scholarly treatment, although historians have outlined the debate over these laws in the 1850s in particular as one part of the war of words which culminated surprisingly, not predictably, in secession and civil war in 1860-1861.

This book is most welcome for two reasons. First, by treating the period 1780-1861, Morris properly laid the historical foundation for the confrontation in the 1850s over the 1850 Fugitive Slave law. The reader will understand after reading Morris why the North—never a lover of black men—reacted so vehemently against the federal law. The fight against enactment represented a last stand of sorts by the North in a long battle stretching over the previous seventy years to define in each of the northern states how to accomplish harmoniously the transition from a slave to a free community in a federal system the Con-

stitution for which recognized a "person held to service or labor."

Second, the book is a vivid illustration of the complexities of the federal system. Members of the bench and bar and legal historians who have ever been mired in the marshy and murky eddies of choice-of-law issues can appreciate how the northern states' efforts to define minimal guarantees of personal liberty through jury trials and the writs of habeas corpus and *homine replegiando* conflicted with southerners' right of recapture of fugitive slaves as guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution.

The actual working out of this problem resulted less in a direct confrontation between North and South than a contest first between the northern states and national government over the proper jurisdiction of the respective governments, and then within the national government itself as to whether any federal law that was passed would incorporate even minimal procedural safeguards for personal liberty of citizens located in the northern states.

By the Supreme Court's decision in *Prigg v. Pennsylvania* the North in 1842 witnessed the destruction of its personal liberty legislation outlining slave return procedures. The *Prigg* decision declared that the fugitive slave clause of the U. S. Constitution had conferred exclusive authority on the national government and that the states, therefore, had no power to enforce the clause even to the extent of providing procedures supplementing those outlined in the 1793 Fugitive Slave law.

The *Prigg* decision meant, as Morris demonstrates so well, that the northern states had to change the forum of battle from the state to the national level to incorporate in federal law that which had been state law in some jurisdictions prior to *Prigg*. The North, as evidenced by the 1850 Fugitive Slave law, failed completely in this attempt. The result was a decade of tumult marked by public demonstrations and sharp confrontations between federal and state judicial authorities in the North over efforts of the national government to enforce the law.

One such confrontation occurred over the efforts of the national government to curb aid to fugitive slaves by an abolitionist Wisconsin newspaper editor, Sherman Booth. The outcome was an 1859 decision of the United States Supreme Court in *Ableman v. Booth* which declared the 1850 Fugitive Slave law constitutional and which was a powerful brief on behalf of the supremacy of national judicial power.

This reader especially appreciates Morris's attention to the little-studied and much-misunderstood writs of habeas corpus and *homine replegiando* insofar as their part in the discourse on personal liberty during the pre-Civil-War era is concerned. The writ of habeas corpus in particular after the outbreak of civil war became a subject of great public discussion and concern. Morris's book offers much background for explanations of this public concern and for why Congress in the 1863 Habeas Corpus Act, in the abortive Wade-Davis bill, and in the second 1867 Habeas Corpus Act took pains to spell out the conditions under which the privilege of the writ would be suspended or resorted to it as one means of guaranteeing civil rights, which eventually became both the pre-condition for and essence of Reconstruction.

Despite the legal-constitutional focus of this book, it has much to offer the general reader who is interested in understanding the outworkings of constitutional issues in a federal system that operated on decidedly different premises than those which characterize the system today. If one were to criticize Morris, it would be for failing to delineate sufficiently or clearly these premises. It matters a great deal that the debate over personal liberty took place in a state-centered federal system in which the most concern as to possible infringement of personal liberty resulted from what states did and in which liberty was defined as something governments could not abridge or deny rather than as a catalogue of rights which it was the government's duty to protect.

It is ironic that the Fugitive Slave clause of the Constitution, which eventually was construed to deny both of these premises, prompted a transformation, albeit temporarily, from a negative to a positive conceptualization of the role of government—both state and national—vis-à-vis individual liberty. This transformation provided continuity in constitutional discourse from the ante-bellum into Civil War and Reconstruction America.

Vinson, Elkins, Searls, Connally, and Smith
Houston

CATHERINE M. TARRANT

Serpent in Eden: H. L. Mencken and the South. By Fred C. Hobson, Jr. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1974. Pp. xv, 242. \$8.95.)

"Monograph," defines the *Random House College Dictionary*, is "a learned treatise on a particular subject." The volume at hand, Fred Hobson's *Serpent in Eden*, is a perfect example of that definition. It pursues a limited topic exhaustively and, for the greater part, pursues it well.

The title misleads. This book is about Mencken and southern literature. The details of Mencken's various southern excursions, the South's overall reaction to his pungent criticisms, the exact manner in which the Sage of Baltimore used the South as the *reductio ad absurdum* of American culture—all of these and more are absent from Hobson's book. His real subject is Mencken's influence on the rebirth of southern literature in the 1920s, beginning in earnest in 1920 with the republication of Mencken's 1917 essay "The Sahara of the Bozart," which appeared in Mencken's *Prejudices, Second Series*. The force of Mencken's influence was greatest during the next few years, through the Scopes trial in 1925, and appropriately Hobson devotes three-fourths of his study to this period. The remainder of the book, in fact, details Mencken's decline as a literary force in southern literature as the region's writers moved, in Hobson's own words, "beyond Mencken." At its core, this is a study of southern writing approached through its then greatest promoter-critic.

There are few surprises here. For the most part old suspicions and insights are shorn up by Hobson's thorough scholarship. The idea that Mencken was a sort of midwife to modern southern literature is an old one; Hobson restates it with the force of substantial research. He moves on to suggest that Mencken was responsible for the *form* of early modern southern literature, too. By his tireless encouragement and admonition Mencken promoted his own concept of art and society in the new southern writers, Hobson asserts, notably the idea that the artist must be in active rebellion against society. Thus, contends Hobson, "Menckanism as a literary force" bent southern writers toward social criticism, aloofness, revolt against tradition. Mencken thereby not only fostered southern *belles lettres*, but shaped it as well, through his influencing and championing of Howard Odum, James Branch Cabell, Emily Clark and *The Reviewer*, young journalists like Gerald Johnson, W. J. Cash, the Harrises, and many others.

Within the confines Hobson sets for himself in this book, he generally carries the day for his thesis. One can cavil at some points, of course. He comes perilously close to crediting Mencken with being so central to the revival of sub-Potomac prose that incautious readers might conclude the movement would not have happened without Mencken. And did Mencken invent and singlehandedly promote and disseminate the notion that the South was culturally backward, or was he merely the most outspoken and influential purveyor of a point of view that lurked in the minds of many? The question becomes important when Hobson asserts that Thomas Wolfe was "in almost every way a Mencke-

nite" simply because Wolfe's targets were the same as Mencken's in the early twenties (p. 68). By taking a generalized point of view and dubbing it "Menckenism," Hobson strongly implies that Mencken conceived and hatched that point of view and that it would not have existed or would not have taken nearly the same shape without him. It seems more likely that the thesis should be toned down, that Mencken served as a symbol, simply a shorthand notation for an attitude others also held. Hobson almost says as much himself in borrowing Emily Clark's observation that Mencken became "a state of mind, a school of thought" (pp. 78-79). It is a matter of emphasis, mostly, but a nagging one. One can also question Hobson's having it both ways when he says of "Menckenism" that "those whom it did not inspire, it challenged" (p. 69). In this way the author brings under Mencken's spell authors who, like the Charleston poetry group, did not respond to his view of southern society and what should be done about it. And given the way the highly influential and successful Nashville Agrarians brushed aside not only Mencken's criticism of the South but also his entire prose-oriented approach to literature, Hobson's conclusion that Mencken was "the first cause in their original consideration" of the region and its writing seems shaky (p. 162).

But these criticisms are, for the most part, mere nibbling at the edges of a generally well-turned work. Hobson's scholarship is thorough, almost to a fault, as when he documents the point of Mencken's influence so repeatedly. The author's research in printed sources, interviews, and private correspondence (including the recently unlocked Mencken material in New York) is exhaustive. He has read this material with considerable reflection, and insight is often the reward. His analysis of the relationship between Mencken and James Branch Cabell, for example, is very good, as is his detailed recitation of Mencken's association with *The Reviewer*. And Hobson has avoided that pitfall so fatal to those who write about Mencken, trying to write like Mencken. With the notes safely stored in the back of the book, even Hobson's detailed thoroughness fails to mar the prose.

In the end the primary dissatisfactions which remain are in the scope of the work, its monographic nature. Unanswered questions abound. Why was the South so ready to explode in 1920? Even Hobson admits that Mencken's match found ready powder and that Mencken himself was startled by the reaction his "Sahara" piece received. And why were so many women (e.g., Julia Peterkin, Emily Clark, Julia Harris, Nell Battle Lewis, Frances Newman) involved? These questions, of course, ask that the book be different, and to criticise Hobson for the volume he did not write is unfair. If the reader can keep his attention focused on the literary history of the South in one decade and on the relationship of that literature to one strong figure, then he will be rewarded. And when the definitive history of southern literature comes to be written, that work will stand in considerable debt to Hobson's industrious spadework in this specialized but very competent study.

Hollins College

WILLIAM J. EVITTS

The Rich, the Well Born, and the Powerful: Elites and Upper Classes in History. Ed. Frederic Cople Jaher. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1973. Pp. 379. \$15.00.)

Twelve historical essays on "elites" and "upper classes" represent the collective effort of thirteen historians and sociologists under the editorship of Frederic C. Jaher. Most, if not all, of the experts are professors at the University of Illinois at Champagne-Urbana. The chronological and geographic ground covered by these twelve essays is impressive. They range from Classical Athens and the Roman Republic to Renaissance Florence and Victorian England and from Tsarist Russia to the American Midwest. It is patently impos-

sible to do justice in a brief review to so wide a variety of rich historical materials. However, a few comments may serve as a guide and stimulant to prospective readers who peruse this collection of case studies in the history of elite groups.

Comparative history on this scale poses certain problems of interpretation and manageability. No common "method" or approach can be imposed on such a large and diverse group of specialists. Each author defines and treats his "elite" in his own way. Two of the authors, Richard Mitchell (*Roman Aristocracy*) and Walter Arnstein (*Victorian Aristocracy*) examine a ruling class over a considerable length of time, review a large body of secondary literature, and attempt to answer a number of large questions historians and sociologists ask about ruling classes: their social composition and recruitment, their functions and levers of power and status, and especially their capacity to achieve a delicate balance providing a sufficient accessibility to insure renewal and vitality but not so much openness as to swamp the "old guard," destroy continuity, and undermine the cohesion of the aristocracy as a ruling class.

The scope of this kind of elite study will appeal to the reader most interested in broad conclusions, and he will find that both Mitchell and Arnstein do it very well. In fact, Arnstein's extended essay on the remarkable staying-power of the English aristocracy right up to 1914 is, in my opinion, a brilliant synthesis of the current historical issues, written with clarity, thoroughness, and sane judgments. Arnstein employs the proper measure of tabular statistics, telling quotations, literary allusion, and even a spot of poetry: "We want community of feeling, And landlords kindly in their dealing" (p. 247). Here is a couplet that may tell us more about mutual respect and the resilience of elites than volumes on "deference" and "dignity" in the abstract.

Another group of essays treats certain regional and local elites over shorter time periods. Although the authors ask a more limited number of questions, they often get to know their elites more intimately, imparting a flesh-and-blood dimension that the larger syntheses cannot hope to attain. For example, Frederic Jaher's description of the fashionable "Four Hundred" in New York of the "gay nineties" recaptures the "world" of the great social pace-setters, Mesdames Astor, Vanderbilt, and Stuyvesant Fish. Enormously wealthy, they excluded the "new rich" such as the Goulds and Harrimans from their social set. In fact, their pride in inherited wealth, comments Jaher (p. 266), may account for their lack of vocational achievement; 60 per cent of the 400 had no occupation outside high society. For a country that prided itself on the Horatio Alger myth and on rewards for talent, merit, and achievement, the New York elite was very eccentric indeed. Once more, contrasted to the social elites of Boston and Philadelphia in 1900, New York high society performed no civic services (their charities were minimal) and had almost no cultural interests (p. 277). They make the French court nobility of 1789 look positively utilitarian.

Thomas Krueger's and William Glidden's 380 members of the New Deal intelligentsia are a striking contrast to Jaher's 400 New York families. Three-quarters of the New Deal intelligentsia were sons of well-to-do professional and businessmen, 90 per cent had college degrees or better, and all were about forty when they entered Roosevelt's service in the early 1930s. They were highly motivated toward achievement and civic service. Making up an intellectual, professional, and even bureaucratic elite themselves, they nonetheless had a strong commitment to equal treatment of the citizenry and a belief that administrative planning and economic growth could do wonders to improve the living standards and quality of American life. Somehow with all of their faults—naiveté and arrogance, no doubt—the New Deal intellectuals look rather better than many high civil servants we have seen since. They had a laudable vision and they were honest people.

Another approach is to select a single aspect or function of a regional or local elite. For

example, Richard Trexler examines the attitudes and policies of the Florentine elite (the *cittadini*) toward charity in the 14th and 15th centuries. He identifies several categories of "poor," distinguishing the "shamed poor"—often fallen gentry—from the "public poor"—day laborers, beggars, and vagabonds. The institutional response recognized this distinction. Pawn-shops, for example, could only help those who had something to pawn, like the scions of impoverished noble houses. Was not the first obligation of an elite to its fallen members or associates? Trexler's article is as much a contribution to the history of public welfare as it is to the history of elites.

Still another approach to elite studies is to focus on local elites in conflict. John McKay examines a native business elite in Russia in the late nineteenth century struggling with its foreign competitors over the development and operation of a steel complex at Briansk. McKay gives us a case study in business history. Similarly, Keith Hitchins discusses the struggle of a clerical-intellectual elite in Transylvania against the Hapsburg administration in Vienna in the eighteenth century. This so-called Uniate church had an efficient organization from bishop to parish priest, from synod to classroom, and as teachers, Hitchins claims, they pioneered a "national (Roumanian) ideology" (p. 148). Hitchins's essay is a study of group ideology.

I had alluded to only seven of twelve essays contained in this volume. If I have found the other five less interesting, it is for one of three reasons: (1) neither the substance nor the approach of the article appeared original (Robin Seager, "Elitism and Democracy in Classical Athens" and David Ransel, "Bureaucracy and Patronage: The View from an Eighteenth-Century Russian Letter-Writer"), (2) the approach was too vague or abstract (Paul Drake, "The Political Responses of the Chilean Upper Class to the Great Depression and the Threat of Socialism, 1931-33"), and (3) the quantitative apparatus was too long and elaborate to justify the limited results obtained (Frank Foster, "Politics and Community in Elizabethan London" and Richard Jensen, "Metropolitan Elites in the Mid-West, 1907-29: A Study in Multivariate Collective Biography"). I should add, however, that this discrimination is partly a matter of personal preference (especially regarding "originality"), and surely all of the contributions are carefully done and worth reading.

Aside from the scholarly qualities of each essay—and most rank high—what can be learned from collecting twelve different studies in one volume? The broader essays on "ruling classes" offer us more by way of sociological generalization and insight, especially regarding the resourcefulness of aristocracies like the Roman and English. The studies of regional and local elites, are more useful as *entrées* into such areas as public welfare, business history, group ideology, local politics, public administration, and career analysis where, I suspect, the essayist's central interest often lies. But either way, the study of elites opens a wide window on the broad horizon of social history, demonstrating that today's historian need no longer be limited to "high politics," wars, and the biographies of "Great Men."

Johns Hopkins University

ROBERT FORSTER

Book Notes

Murder, 1776 and Washington's Policy of Silence. By William H. W. Sabine. (Brooklyn, N. Y.: Thomas Gaus' Sons, 1973. Pp. 207. \$7.50.) This book, in examining the available facts about the death in 1776 of Brigadier-General Nathaniel Woodhull of the New York militia, sheds considerable light on conditions on Long Island immediately before the Battle of Long Island. Woodhull was also President of the New York Provincial Congress. The author examines the available evidence and presents a convincing case for the explanation that Woodhull died from an infection in a wound inflicted to make an arranged capture by British troops look genuine. The fact that Woodhull's troops had failed to detect and prevent the British flanking movement through Jamaica Pass weighs heavily in his judgment, as does the fact that Washington made no comment when Howe notified him of Woodhull's death. This book, copiously annotated and usefully indexed, casts new light on a dark corner of the War for Independence. [John Carter Matthews]

Winter Quarters: George Washington and the Continental Army at Valley Forge. By Noel Busch. (New York: Liveright, 1974. Pp. xiv, 206. \$7.95.) As the two hundredth anniversary of the American Revolution approaches, one is reminded of the immortal words of the venerable Jimmy Durante: "Everybody wants ta get into de act." Now comes Mr. Noel F. Busch, an alumnus of *Time* and *Life* and author of books on Adlai Stevenson, both Roosevelts, and the battle of Tsushima, as well as a *Concise History of Japan*. The book is clearly written, useably indexed, and tastefully illustrated. There are no footnotes. Regretfully, for it's a pleasant book, it must be said that it is a study which can be disregarded by serious students. [John Carter Matthews]

At General Howe's Side 1776-1777. The Diary of General William Howe's aide de camp, Captain Friedrich von Muenchhausen. Translated by Ernst Kipping and annotated by Samuel Stelle Smith. (Monmouth Beach, N. J.: Philip Freneau Press, 1974. Pp. 85. \$14.95.) Since General William Howe could speak only English and General von Heister, commanding the Hessians, could use only German and French, Captain Muenchhausen of the Hessian Leib regiment was appointed wing adjutant to German auxiliary forces and aide-de-camp to Howe on November 18, 1776, shortly before the evacuation of Fort Lee. He served as aide to Howe until Howe's departure from Philadelphia in May of 1778. During that time he kept a diary, actually more a running account of military events which he sent piece by piece as opportunity offered to his brother, who was war councillor at the Royal Court of Hannover. The result is an informed, clearly written, largely dispassionate and thoroughly interesting account of events. The notes, index, and appendix are useful. This book must not be missed by specialists in the period nor by people who enjoy history as it should be written. [John Carter Matthews]

The Labor Wars: From the Molly Maguires to the Sitdowns. By Sidney Lens. (Garden City: Anchor Books, 1974. Pp. xii, 400. \$2.95.) This account emphasizes the role of rank and file workers, not a few self-serving leaders or prosperous unions. Laborers fought countless bloody battles against business and its persistent allies (presidents, governors, courts, police) from the 1870s to World War II. Using every imaginable weapon (e.g., sabotage, arson, murder) they fought savage warfare, but Lens also reminds readers of the humanistic dimension to their struggle. Workers pioneered the tactics of passive non-resistance and "participatory democracy," sometimes sacrificed their meager wages and security for less fortunate workers, and occasionally displayed remarkable comradery toward co-workers regardless of race or sex. This book is comprehensive and Maryland

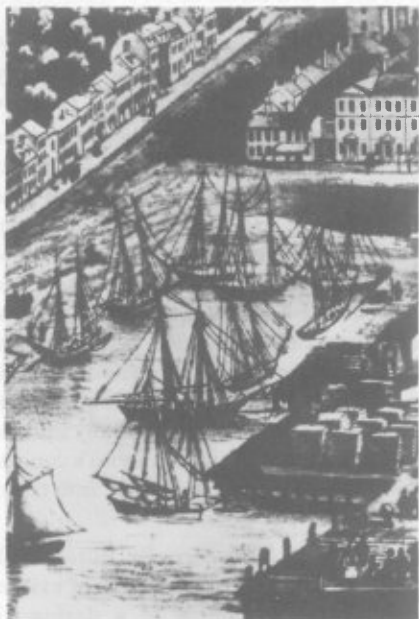
readers will be especially interested in the account of the B & O strike of 1877. [Roderick N. Ryon]

Failure of a Dream? Essays in the History of American Socialism. Edited by John H. M. Laslett and Seymour Martin Lipset. (Garden City: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1974. Pp. xiii, 738. \$12.95 cloth, \$5.95 paper.) No mere narrative or polemic, this volume of eighteen essays addresses itself to the important questions about socialism's plight in America. For example, when and how did socialist dogmatism and factionalism, American trade unions, and agrarian traditions impede socialism's growth? Have social mobility, capitalism's material triumphs, and liberal politics dwarfed an indigenous Left? The contributors (sociologists, historians, and socialists) include Daniel Bell, James Weinstein, and Norman Thomas. Almost half the essays have never before been published, and most are followed by critical comments to which some essayists have appended brief "replies." Socialist activists and intellectuals will find most essays enlightening and will discover insights not available in any other publication on the American Left. Even the "general reader" who lacks a knowledge of socialist roots will find the volume exceptionally informative if he is willing to peruse it patiently. No reader should miss Staughton Lynd's concluding essay—a sensitive summons to transform yesterday's "dream that failed" into tomorrow's living reality. [Roderick N. Ryon]

Into the Twenties: The United States from Armistice to Normalcy. By Burl Noggle. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1974. Pp. ix, 233. \$8.50.) More a synthesis of existing research than a work of original scholarship, and less an example of a daring historical reassessment than a safe one, this is still an engrossing and useful book. Noggle convincingly demonstrates that the last two years of the Wilson Administration set the political, social, and economic pattern for the era which followed. The 1920s, with its conservatism and chauvinism, witnessed the continuation of trends already strikingly apparent before the decade began.

Women in Defense Work During World War II: An Analysis of the Labor Problem and Women's Rights. By Chester W. Gregory. (New York: Exposition Press, 1974. Pp. xxii, 243. \$9.00.) This comprehensive and carefully researched study proves not only that women performed well as industrial workers during the Second World War but also that the conflict constituted a watershed in the history of American women. Female equality was furthered by the wartime experience. Gregory covers recruitment of women workers, their training, their particular problems such as child care needs and their financial remuneration. He devotes special attention as well to females in agriculture and the role of the black woman. Although the book is somewhat stodgy, it is well organized and contains much valuable information.

The title, *Florida Pioneers and their Alabama, Georgia, Carolina, Maryland, and Virginia Ancestors* (Tallahassee: L'Avant Studios, 1974. Pp. xx, 500. \$35.00.) may confuse some readers, but it is a remarkably well researched work concerning the Avant family where the compiler, David A. Avant, Jr. has used the services of top genealogical researchers who covered much of Florida, all the way up the Atlantic seaboard to Maryland and Pennsylvania, spanning 1619–1974. Thousands of names are listed in a very good index, but nearer to home there are studies by professionals on Avant, Britt, Hunter, Massey-Massie, Peake-Peck, Taliaferro, Tatum, Townsend and Underwood, all of Virginia, and the Davis family of Maryland. The book may be ordered from David A. Avant, Jr., L'Avant Studios, 207 West Park Avenue, Tallahassee, Florida, 32301. Only 300 copies were printed and there is a good foreword by George E. Russell. [P. W. Filby]



Annapolis 1850s, courtesy of M. E. Warren

new this spring

In Pursuit of Profit

The Annapolis Merchants in the Era of the American Revolution

EDWARD C. PAPENFUSE

In a refreshing new perspective that focuses on Annapolis instead of Baltimore, Papenfuse examines the urban growth and economic development in the Chesapeake region in the later half of the 18th century. This is an up-close study of people, certain dynamic merchant families and partnerships of the time; how they adapted to changes in the tobacco trade and investment opportunities during the war; and of their impact on the other businesses in the area. New in our series, *Maryland Bicentennial Studies*. illustrated, \$12.00

The Architecture of Maximilian Godefroy

ROBERT L. ALEXANDER

In 1805 within months of Maximilian Godefroy's arrival in Baltimore from France, he had begun construction of St. Mary's Chapel, the first Gothic Revival church built in the United States. The author here traces Godefroy's fourteen years of work in America, pointing to Godefroy's masterful reconciliation of the blunt demands of the industrial age with the tastes of the *ancien régime*. illustrated, \$16.00

A Matter of Allegiances

Maryland from 1850 to 1861

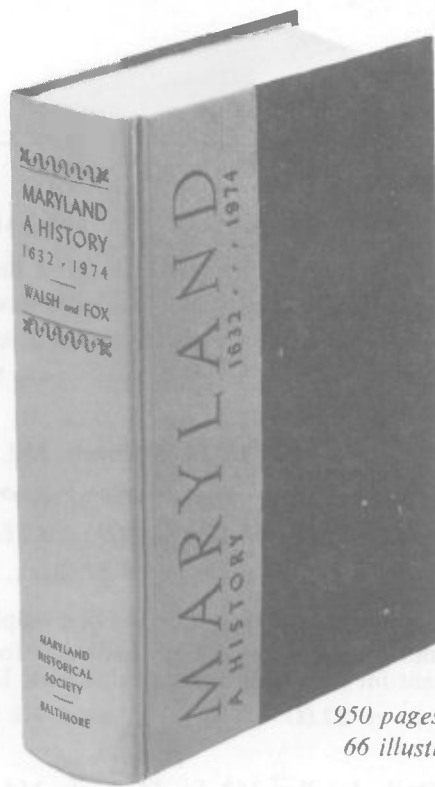
WILLIAM J. EVITTS

"The purpose of his book is not simply to present a chronicle of political events and party realignments during the explosive fifties. Instead, as the author puts it, his study is . . . political history seen as a rather precise kind of social history. It looks much more at the populace than at the politicians, because politics is valued here not as an end in itself, but for what it can tell about a diverse group of Americans. . . . Evitts succeeds admirably." — *Maryland Historical Review* \$11.00

The **JOHNS HOPKINS** University Press

Baltimore, Md. 21218

*Newly
Published*



950 pages
66 illustrations

MARYLAND: A HISTORY ~ 1632-1974

A balanced account of Maryland, treating early and more recent history equally with political, economic and social topics.

Edited by RICHARD WALSH
WILLIAM LLOYD FOX

Published by MARYLAND
HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Price \$12.50 (plus 50c sales tax for Maryland residents) and 60c for handling and postage.

"... monumental work . . ." Dr. Harry Bard, President
Community College of Baltimore

"The authors skillfully balance national with important local developments in the state's history."

Mary Dearing, Professor, Montgomery College

CALVERT COUNTY, MARYLAND, WILLS, 1654-1700

By RAYMOND B. CLARK, JR. and SARA SETH CLARK

With an Introduction by Mrs. Betty Worthington Briscoe

Contains over 275 wills, indices to persons, witnesses, places and occupations

Yellow cover with Seal of Calvert County

109 pages \$10.00

4% Md. sales tax, where applicable

Order from

Raymond B. Clark, Jr., Box 352, St. Michaels, Md. 21663

FREDERICK COUNTY, MARYLAND, NATURALIZATIONS, 1799-1850

By Raymond B. Clark, Jr.

With an Introduction by the Hon. Edward S. Delaplaine

Over 1200 names. Gives place of birth and ruler for European countries and West Indies. Important for small German principalities. Including witnesses.

64 pages. Blue cover. \$7.00

4% Md. sales tax, where applicable

Order from

Raymond B. Clark, Jr., Box 352, St. Michaels, Md. 21663

HARFORD IMAGES

"... a beautiful picture book of Harford County through the seasons." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Fall, 1974

Available at

Preston's Stationery, 319 S. Main St., Bel Air, Md. 21014

\$7.95 plus
50¢ mailing

4% sales tax
where applicable

THE HISTORY OF SHARPSBURG, MARYLAND

By LEE D. BARRON

The history covers early Western Maryland, 1730-1770; Joseph Chapline; Forts Cumberland and Frederick; French and Indian War; Antietam Iron Furnace; Churches; Swearingen Ferry; C. & O. Canal; Battle of Antietam; and many other topics of interest. 89 pages. \$2.60, tax included.

Also available 55 page book of *References & Sources of Facts* for all data presented in *The History of Sharpsburg, Maryland*. \$1.80, tax included.

Order from

BARRON'S - P. O. Box 356, Sharpsburg, Maryland. 21782

What do you know about . . .

The Carrolls of Carrollton

A Signer of the Declaration of Independence
and leader in many fields

The Dorseys of Hockley-in-the-Hole

The Howard County ancestors of President
Abraham Lincoln

The Ellicotts, founders of Ellicott City

Builders, manufacturers, planters, teachers,
surveyor of Washington

The Clarks of Clarksville

Planters, importers, soldiers, administrators

The Greenberrys of Whitehall

Leader in civil and military affairs, Governor
of Maryland 1692

The Griffiths of ancient lineage

Descendants of Welsh kings and vigorous
leaders in the colony since 1675

The Howards of noble ancestry

The county bears the name of this distinguished,
aristocratic family

The Igleharts, distinguished in law and medicine

trace their Saxon lineage back to the Second
Crusade

The Ridgelys of great distinction

One of the most aristocratic and active families
in the colony

The Worthingtons of Worthington Valley

In the colony since 1664, this family was active
and prominent in all its affairs

—and several score other Maryland families who
distinguished themselves in Howard County history

Origin and History of Howard County

383 pages, richly illustrated; 29 coats-of-arms of distinguished families in full color; 54 reviews of prominent families and 32 photographs of their residences plus an ample bibliography and an extensive index.

On sale direct from the author, Mr. Charles Francis Stein, 17 Midvale Road, Baltimore, Maryland 21210 @ \$19.50 per copy, shipped postpaid. Where applicable 4% sales tax should be added.



WILLIAM BUCKLAND, 1734-1774 ARCHITECT OF VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND

*By Rosamond Randall Beirne and
John Henry Scarff, F.A.I.A.*

Published by Maryland Historical Society, 1958

A Book of great interest to architects, curators, librarians, preservationists of the 18th Century

\$10.00 plus
60¢ mailing

4% sales tax
where applicable

Available at
**HAMMOND-HARWOOD HOUSE, ANNAPOLIS, MARYLAND,
AND MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY**

TRADITIONAL FURNITURE

*From America's outstanding
sources . . . in wide open
stock selection*

Complete interior planning
and advisory service in the
Williamsburg tradition

FALLON & HELLEN

11 and 13 W. Mulberry St.
Baltimore, Md. 21201
LExington 9-3345

TONGUE, BROOKS & COMPANY

I N S U R A N C E

Since 1898



213 ST. PAUL PLACE
BALTIMORE

Chimney Corner Antique Shop



FINE COLLECTION OF ANTIQUE FURNITURE
ANTIQUES RESTORED, REFINISHED, AND REPRODUCED
532 St. Paul Street Baltimore, Md. 21202
Phone: 837-6919

Enrico Liberti, Prop.

*A*nnouncing . . .

A MAJOR EXHIBITION AND CATALOGUE

FOUR GENERATIONS OF COMMISSIONS

MARCH 3—JUNE 29, 1975



THE PEALE COLLECTION
OF THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

201 WEST MONUMENT STREET, BALTIMORE, MARYLAND 21201

A 200-page illustrated catalogue may be purchased at the Maryland Historical Society for \$7.00 per copy (plus 28c sales tax). Mail orders \$8.00 including postage and handling.

**ANTIQUES
&
FURNITURE
RESTORATION**
since 1899

J. W. BERRY & SON
222 West Read Street
Baltimore
Saratoga 7-4687

Consultants
by Appointment to
The Society

*Oil Paintings
Water Colors
Signed Graphics
Porcelains
Lalique Crystal
Expert Conservation
Correct Training*

**THE
PURNELL
GALLERIES**

407 North Charles Street

**COLLECTORS' AUCTIONS
CATALOG SALES**

of fine books, antiques, art works, letters & documents, antique weapons. Receive fair prices through competitive bidding. Appraisals, judicial sales, estate sales conducted for individuals, executors and attorneys.

Write for information concerning our catalog subscriptions, or phone (301) 728-7040

HARRIS AUCTION GALLERIES

873-875 N. HOWARD STREET, BALTIMORE, MARYLAND 21201

MEMBER: APPRAISERS ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA
AUCTIONEERS ASSOCIATION OF MARYLAND

The Romance of Cavalier Maryland



.. the best from the trout streams of
The Catoclin .. Pheasant .. Quail ..
Saddle of Lamb .. Baron of Beef ..
Sea-catches from the wharves of
Baltimore .. all await you at

Olney Inn

"Where elegant dining is as traditional as
Southern Hospitality!"
on route 97 in historic Olney, Maryland
between Baltimore & Washington · 924-2121

For nearly 20 years the
**GENEALOGICAL
PUBLISHING CO.**

has been actively reprinting
out-of-print books on

**GENEALOGY
LOCAL HISTORY
HERALDRY**

Write for free catalogues.

*We also have a large stock
of books on*

BRITISH GENEALOGY

**GENEALOGICAL
PUBLISHING CO., INC.**
*Regional Publishing Company,
Affiliate*

521-523 ST. PAUL PLACE
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND 21202

RARE AMERICANA

Paintings
Prints
Furniture
Books
Stamps

Pewter
China
Bottles
Documents
Coins

BOUGHT — SOLD — APPRAISED

JAMES B. McCLOSKEY

Member American Society of Appraisers

6127 N. Charles Street
Baltimore

Phone: 821-5959
821-5966

By Appointment Only

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISING

PHOTOGRAPHY

Since 1878

HUGHES CO.

Copy and Restoration Work a Specialty.

C. GAITHER SCOTT

Black and White or color.

115 E. 25th Street

Phone: 889-5540

Baltimore, Md. 21218

FAMILY COAT OF ARMS

A Symbol Of Your Family's Heritage From The Proud Past

Handpainted In Oils In Full Heraldic Colors — Size 11½ × 14½ — \$18.00

Research When Necessary

ANNA DORSEY LINDER

PINES OF HOCKLEY

166 Defense Highway

Annapolis, Maryland 21401

Phone: 263-3334

PLUMBING — HEATING — AIR CONDITIONING

M. NELSON BARNES & SONS, Inc.

Established 1909 Phone: 666-9330 117 Church Lane, Cockeysville 21030

IF your children do not want the family heirlooms, please let us help you. We have been finding good homes for handsome antiques since 1899, and we still do.

J. W. Berry & Son—Baltimore—Saratoga 7-4687

COATS OF ARMS

Engraved on Silver

Reproduced in Oil on Parchment

Silver Repairing

A. CLARK REID, JR.

139 C. Versailles Circle

Baltimore, Md. 21204

Phone: 828-8824



GARAMOND/PRIDEMARK PRESS, INC.

714 E. PRATT ST. ✦ BALTIMORE, MARYLAND 21202 ✦ TEL: AREA CODE 301 727-7070 ✦ WASHINGTON TEL: 621-1177

PUBLICATIONS

Studies in Maryland History

- His Lordship's Patronage: Offices of Profit in Colonial Maryland.* By Donnell M. Owings. 1953 \$ 7.50

Texts and References for School Use

- Maryland: A Students' Guide to Localized History.* By Harold R. Manakee, 1968 \$ 1.50
The War of 1812 On The Chesapeake Bay. Illustrated paperback. By Gilbert Byron, 1964 ... \$ 2.00
My Maryland. By Kaessmann, Manakee and Wheeler. History of Maryland, Revised edition. \$ 4.50
Indians of Early Maryland. By Harold R. Manakee, 1959 \$ 2.00
Maryland in the Civil War. By Harold R. Manakee, 1961 \$ 5.00
Wheeler Leaflets on Maryland History. (24 titles) each \$.10
Master's Theses and Doctoral Dissertations on Maryland History. Richard R. Duncan and Dorothy M. Brown, comp. 1970 \$ 2.00
Highlights of Maryland History as Presented in the Darnall Young People's Museum. 1973 .. \$.75

Miscellaneous

- The Manuscript Collections of the Maryland Historical Society.* Avril J. M. Pedley, comp. 1968 \$15.00
A History of the University of Maryland. By George H. Callcott. Illustrated, 1966 \$ 7.50
Quakers in the Founding of Anne Arundel County, Maryland. By J. Reaney Kelly. Illustrated. 1963 \$ 5.50
The Maryland Press, 1777-1790. By Joseph T. Wheeler, 1938 \$15.00
History of Queen Anne's County. By Frederic Emory, 1950 \$ 7.50
From Mill Wheel to Plowshare. By Julia A. Drake and J. R. Orndorff. Orndorff Genealogy. Illustrated, 1938 \$ 6.00
Semmes and Kindred Families. By Harry Wright Newman, 1956 \$12.50
The Hollyday and Related Families of the Eastern Shore of Maryland. By James Bordley, Jr., M.D. 1962 \$12.50
The Regimental Colors of the 175th Infantry (Fifth Maryland) By H. R. Manakee and Col. Roger S. Whitford, 1959 \$ 2.00
The Extinct Medical Schools of Baltimore, Maryland. By Harold J. Abrahams, Illustrated, 1969 \$10.00
Quakerism on the Eastern Shore. By Kenneth Carroll. Illustrated, 1970 \$12.50
Joshua Johnston, the First American Negro Portrait Painter. By J. Hall Pleasants. Reprint. Illustrated, 1970 \$ 1.50
Parade of Maryland Fashion. Catalog of costume exhibit. Illustrated, 1970 \$ 3.25
A. Hoen on Stone. By Lois B. McCauley. Catalog of lithograph exhibition. Illustrated, 1969 .. \$ 3.00
American and British Genealogy. P. W. Filby, comp. 1970 \$10.00
Prince George's Heritage. By Louise Joyner Hinton, 1972 \$12.50
Genealogical Research in Maryland A Guide 1972, by Mary Keysor Meyer \$ 4.50
Star-Spangled Books. P. W. Filby and Edward G. Howard \$12.50
I didn't know that! an exhibition of first happenings in Maryland. By Edgar Heyl, 1973 \$ 3.00

World War II

- Maryland in World War II: Vol. I, Military Participation, 1950; Vol. II, Industry and Agriculture, 1951; Vol. IV, Gold Star Honor Roll, 1956.* H. R. Manakee, comp. each \$ 3.25
History of the 110th Field Artillery, with Sketches of Related Units. By Col. John P. Cooper, Jr. Illustrated, 1953 \$ 5.00
Maryland in World War II—Register of Service Personnel, 5 vols. each \$20.00

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

201 W. Monument Street
 Baltimore, Maryland 21201

Postage and tax,
 if applicable, extra.



STAR-SPANGLED BOOKS

BOOKS, SHEET MUSIC, NEWSPAPERS,
MANUSCRIPTS, AND PERSONS
ASSOCIATED WITH
"THE STAR-SPANGLED BANNER"

Compiled by

P. W. FILBY

Director and Librarian, Maryland Historical Society

AND

EDWARD G. HOWARD

*Vice President and Consultant on Rare Books
Maryland Historical Society*



MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY
BALTIMORE

1972

Available at the Society
\$12.50 plus postage and tax where applicable



THE MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS
OF THE
MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Compiled by Avril J. M. Pedley
published in 1968


1,724 manuscript collections of over 1,000,000 items, representing manuscripts acquired from 1844 to 1968, are described in 390 pages, including a detailed index.

The documents listed analytically in this volume provide a rich opportunity for research in all areas of Maryland and often the nation's history. The business, economic, family, local, military, political, religious, and social history of Maryland are covered extensively. Although every significant era and topic of both Maryland and National history are represented in the manuscript holdings of the Maryland Historical Society, the collection is especially strong for the colonial and antebellum periods. *The Manuscript Collections of the Maryland Historical Society* is a necessary tool in every reference library.

Price \$15 (plus \$.60 tax for Maryland residents) and \$.50 postage and handling.

Please address orders to:

**The Maryland Historical Society
201 West Monument Street
Baltimore, Maryland 21201**





MARYLAND ARCHIVES

(1637-)

* * * * *

Complete run 1 through 72 (1883-1972) now available.

* * * * *

72 volumes \$895.00

* * * * *

Vols. 22-72 may be purchased separately
at \$10.00

Vols. 1-21, price list upon request.

* * * * *

Prices do not include mailing costs.

* * * * *

Address orders:

**Maryland Historical Society
201 W. Monument St.
Baltimore, Md. 21201**

